

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay : Questions of Gender, Nation, Caste - Class

**A thesis submitted to
Kannada University, Hampi
For the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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Dept. of Manuscriptology

Faculty of Language

Kannada University

Vidyaranaya

2009

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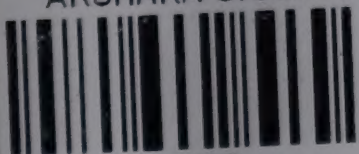
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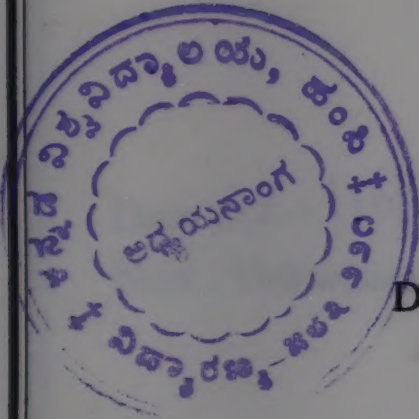
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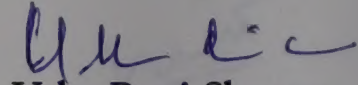


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Vijayanagara

2023

Declaration

I hereby declare that the entire work embodied in this thesis has been done by me and this thesis or part thereof, has not been submitted previously for the award of another degree or diploma to any other university.


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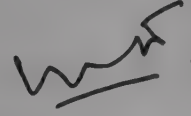
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Certificate

I certify that the entire work embodied in this thesis was carried out under my guidance and supervision. I also certify that this thesis or part there of, has not been submitted previously for the award of another degree or diploma to any other university.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT


I express my deep gratitude to Prof. A.V. Navada for his invaluable help and for guiding on proper lines in this project. My sincere thanks to the members of the Department of Manuscriptology, Kannada University for their support extended to me..

My parents Late Smt. Rameshwari Devi Sharma and Late Shri Ramjilal Sharma would have been extremely delighted to see my Ph.D venture.Hence, I dedicate this thesis to them.

My special thanks to Shri Lakshmi Chand Jain, Dr. Suryanath Kamath and Smt.Vimala Rangachar for giving me useful inputs, which benefited greatly in my work.

I place on record the valuable suggestions and friendliness I received from Smt. Shakuntala Narasimhan, Shri Jayaram Adiga and Shri Santosh Kumar Gulvadi. I am deeply thankful Dr. Sarojini Shintri and Shri Narayanappa Chitragar for the encouragement and help extended to me in my venture.

I owe my thanks to the following: Indian Institute of World Culture, The Mythic Society Library, Kannada University Library, Karnataka University and Gulbarga University Library, M/S Gangarams Book Bureau, Banalore and Crafts Council of Karnataka, Bangalore.

My Sincere thanks to Shri J.  Ramamurthy for his valuable suggestions and for encouraging to take up this work.

I am deeply grateful to the management, the Principal and the Staff of Vijayanagar College, Hospet for their support and encouragement.

I acknowledge my deep gratitude to Yoga guru Swami Ramdevji who has been the strength behind me to keep me going till the completion of this project.

My Sincere thanks to Smt B.Rashmi Krupashankar for doing my DTP Work.

Lastly, I am deeply indebted to my sisters Smt. Asha Rani Sharma and Smt. Rashmi Rani Sharma and well-wishers without whose loving care I would not have been able to complete my work.

USHA RANI SHARMA

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

The present study seeks to look at Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's (KC) evolution of personality from the angles of gender inequity, India's national resurgence and rejuvenation of Indian handicrafts besides restoration of the dignity of the artisans.

In the title to my dissertation I have used the word 'Caste' in the sense of a 'vocation' as was the case in the Vedic times. The phrase 'Caste-Class' has been used to indicate artists / artisans viewed as a group or a class. The phrase envelopes the artists and artisans looked at from the angle of aesthetics and creativity.

In this introductory chapter I will be trying to find an answer to the questions whether the various influences impacted KC's evolutionary process? And what was the extent of this impact? In the second chapter I try to find out in what subtle ways the physical surroundings of her home environment, Mangalore the place of her birth, DK, the District of which Mangalore is the head quarter, impact her. While doing so I attempt a brief historical perspective of the district. As the locational aspect is inseparably intertwined with the history of a place, I try to point out how this region underwent changes under the rule of various dynasties. Each dynasty asserts its own social political economic and cultural characteristics, which impact a region. D.K. District situated on the West coast of India with Arabian Sea on the West and Western Ghats on the East assumes a unique locational significance. The Alupa Dynasty which ruled from 8th to 14 century gave the Kannada language its official status. The district before coming under rule of Vijayanagar kings

was ruled by Kadamba and Chalukya dynasties. The Keladi rulers succeeded the Vijayanagar kings and in 1799 the region came under the rule of British after the defeat of Tippu sultan.

The Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada districts were merged by the British but had to be divided owing to the people's revolt. I try to compare DK District with Uttara Kannada in the backdrop of the political social and cultural influences impacting them from out side.

I have attempted to examine the initiation of the social reform process in the district of DK. I try to make a study of the socio religious movements, which operated in the district. It noteworthy that DK, was the first district in the region to react to any regional or national influences. Further, the study of social reformation assumes significance in the context of evolution of the character this district. The Dalit movement initiated by Kudmul Ranga Rao in 1892 long before Gandhi started his Civil Disobedience Movement is significant for the study to show the proactive character of the district. The political influences do impact the societal aspects. The societal aspect is also a contributory factor in the development of the character of a place, which in turn impacts a person's development. Moreover the multi-religious and multilingual background of the district explains the multiplicity of its character, which I try to examine in this study

In this chapter I take up a study of Basel Mission and its impact on the district in general and on the Saraswats in particular. The Saraswat community to which KC belonged is known for its progressive and industrious character. The Saraswats impacted by Basel Mission's school took utmost advantage from English Education. This accounts for the progressive and industrious quality of the Saraswats. I have also attempted a study of the cultural and economic aspects of the district because these areas reflect the impact explicitly. The similarity of cultural expression between DK district and Kerala is owing to the geographical proximity of the two. Besides, the

similarity in the folk forms, and that of the rituals and practices is a significant feature, which is note worthy. While studying the cultural expressions the unique folk expression of DK District i.e. 'Bhootaradhane' is looked at in detail with reference to KC. Further I try to examine the economy of this region in the context of the evolution of the Saraswat community as a dynamic and pragmatic community.

In the third chapter, by giving a glimpse of KC's life I examine her background with reference to her childhood, family and community. I also try to study her home environment, which must have impacted her evolutionary process. In the second part this chapter; I examine the process of formulation of her mission structure. The evolution of KC as a multi-missionary is of significance here. I try to study how the multiple missions formulated themselves, which ultimately account for her mission structure, the mission concepts and ultimately the core of her mission structure. In the third part of this chapter I trace the positive influences, which shaped her vision, which evolved her as a social activist, a nationalist and a keen follower of cultural forms. The negative influences concretized her mission in the context of women's upliftment and restoration of the dignity of the Indian craftsman.

In last part of this chapter I take up very briefly how she translated her mission into action and her vision into reality.

In the fourth chapter I take up a study of Women's Movement in India and evaluate her positive interventions in the backdrop of her experiences. Before pointing out her feminist concerns I have traced the evolution of Indian woman from the Vedic period to the contemporary time. I also point out as to the emergence of women's questions like child marriage, dowry, of women's education in India, which is of crucial importance. I also point out the impact of colonialism and other world events, the various religious faiths and patriarchy make on the Indian women's movement.

In the second part of this chapter I identify the factors, which evolved her feminist perspective. This perspective finally formulated it self into her feminist mission frame. The contributory factors were her own experiences, the personalities with whom she interacted and was associated with and her exposure to national and international events.

Further I compare the western feminism with KC's constructive non-confrontationist feminist perspective. Another significant point I focus upon is the KC's perception, that women's movement in India was an integral part of India's freedom movement. The social reform movements were partly the responses to tackle the suppression of the Indian people by the British and women formed a part of it. In the third part I take up a study of various feminist concerns and challenges encountered by KC. The concerns and challenges of the early and mid 20th Century like sati, child marriage and widow remarriage were tackled through legislations besides awakening women to these grave issues.

A study of women's issues like education, the health of the mother and child, dowry, wage disparity, maternity leave, family planning, crèches for working mothers, working women's hostels, handicrafts and cultural development and so on were the various issues which were undertaken by AIWC.

In the next part I discuss the initiatives and responses undertaken by AIWC with KC as its General Secretary, Vice-President and President. KC negotiated the above mentioned grave women's questions with a focus on the poorer women.

The negative influences, which shaped her mission frame, ultimately prompted her towards apt responses. This study focuses on the progressive measures taken up by her for women like the training camps, family planning and sensitising women about the notion of autonomy over their bodies. This study also pinpoints KC's recognition of women's economic political as active contributors to the economic development of the country. In this context

the role of a housewife as an equal contributor to the nation's economic growth and as an equal partner in the family and society is also discussed.

The last part of this chapter enumerates women's questions, which have been partially resolved, and a few more new challenges, which have cropped up in the 21st Century.

In chapter 5, I examine the role of KC in India's affairs. I have attempted to arrange her endeavors chronologically. While doing so, some of her initiatives and responses are found to overlap. So, a clear chronological presentation is not achieved. Here, I assess her participation in the freedom struggle, which went on parallelly with her women related endeavors.

KC's initiation into national affairs began with her participation in 1919 in Satyagraha Sabha at Bombay. I take up the evaluation of her participation from the time she joined the Hindustani Seva Dal in 1924 till she actively undertook the rehabilitation of the Indo-Pak partition refugees and the cooperative movement. The Salt Satyagraha is examined in detail, as it is the most prominent of all her endeavors in the freedom struggle. Then I take up her role in Quit India Movement in 1942 in Bangalore.

This part titled 'In the Nation's Freedom Struggle' has 4 more significant occurrences/endeavors besides Salt Satyagraha and Quit India Movement which deserve mention. The first being the Fundamental Rights Resolution Co drafted by KC which Gandhi moved at the Karachi session in 1931 granting equal rights to women which I felt is mention worthy.

Her solitary confinement at Vellore jail in 1933 was a difficult phase for her in terms of her physical and mental condition. The British engineered this arrest and imprisonment because she was a well-known freedom fighter of national stature.

The third being her vigorous campaigning for the independence of India which is titled as 'India's voice in the US' which is KC's contribution in

shaping a positive opinion about India freedom struggle which I felt was quite significant and mention worthy.

Finally, similar were her attempts to comprehend the international affairs in the light of imperialism and Second World War, which I have titled as 'In the World Community.'

In the second part I look at KC as a Youth Icon, which encompasses her contribution in the Youth Congress, or Youth League which had been for a brief period. Nevertheless I made it as one of the parts in my study to emphasis her role (as I felt it deserves prominence) in awakening the youth and enthuse them for participation in the freedom movement.

In the third part I examine her endeavors with reference to her socialist leanings. Despite the fact that her socialist involvement began in 1934 that is well before Quit India Movement of 1942, I made it as an independent chapter as I felt that her socialist agenda was to be stated separately and given prominence. The constraint here is that her socialist endeavors began in 1934 and continued well beyond the Quit India movement till after independence that is till 1948. KC's involvement and initiatives in Labour Union, Peasants' Movement and Trade Union are included under the part Upliftment for the downtrodden. These endeavors were not in conformity with the ideology of the Indian National Congress. Her socialist involvement ended in 1948, as there could be no reconciliation between the ideology of the Congress Socialist Party and the Indian National Congress.

In the fourth part 'An encounter with princely states' I examine the Congress policy of non-interference in the princely states. Contrary to Gandhi and Patel KC reasserted the rightful need of the people of Mysore for self-determination. KC made Gandhi and Patel reverse their previous policy. In the light of the above I call it an 'encounter.'

In the fifth part I assess KC's endeavors with multiple complexities that is, her role in refugee rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is considered to be a

complex task. In this chapter I study how KC elicited all her capabilities and skills to accomplish the task. Another point to note is the bureaucratic resistance, which KC encountered to establish the cooperatives for the refugees.

In the last part of this Chapter I touch upon the subject of Consumer Protection. She initiated it as the Managing Trustee of the project and aimed at setting up the Indian Institute of Consumer Studies at Bangalore, which could not materialize.

In the Sixth Chapter I take up the issues of conservation of our cultural Heritage by KC. In the first part I examine the issue of KC's quest for handicrafts, their rejuvenation and promotion. Her books on handicrafts are an outcome of deep research undertaken by her. This exploration I consider as a search into the world of handicrafts. As a testimony to the depth of her study, I attempt to take up a few crafts in which she was keenly interested which she elucidates in her books. Nevertheless, it is not a qualitative or quantitative evaluation, which can be attempted only by an expert. I have taken up the crafts of Karnataka separately as she hailed from this state.

In the next part I take up the causes, which played a major role in the degradation of Indian Handicrafts. And then I probe into the question as to the need for rejuvenation and promotion of the Indian handicrafts.

In the third part I assess KC as a visionary and also a missionary with reference to arts and crafts. I also examine the fashioning of her mission frame and how she came to terms with the post independent India and negotiated the graver issues of elevation of the Indian artisan by remaining away from power structures.

In the fourth part I evaluate the continuance of the legacy of KC by her associates and others who were sensitized to the concerns and challenges of the Indian handicrafts industry.

In the Fifth part I examine her endeavors in the domain of theatre. As she was keenly interested in this performing art she set up institutions for the promotion of theatre.

In the sixth part, I make a brief assessment of her writings read by me for this study.

In the seventh chapter I try to summarize my contentions taken up in the preceding chapters and record my findings.

For the sake of convenience and better comprehension I have added a chronology as regards her activities, a list of books and articles authored by her and a Photo album.

Chapter 2

Dakshnia Kannada : An Overview

2.1. Physical and Strategic Features

2.2. Historical Perspective

**2.3. National Movements and No Tax Campaign
in the Canara District**

2.4. Social Reformation

2.5. The Society

2.6 Cultural Milieu

2.7. Economy

Dakshnia Kannada : An Overview

2.1 PHYSICAL AND STRATEGIC FEATURES

If a person's evolutionary study is taken up there are several factors, which influence his or her evolutionary process. To understand the perceptions of a person that eventually evolve into thoughts and materialize into deeds, one needs to know the background of the person taken up for study.

In this chapter I attempt a study of Mangalore city, where KC was born, the district and Presidency to which it belonged in the pre-independent India. Mangalore city in Dakshina Kannada (DK) district, in the state of Karnataka is situated on the Western coast of India. In the Indian sub continent the West coast-fringes in the South the Southern states, like Kerala and Karnataka.

DK is almost half way between Mumbai and Kanyakumari. From North to South it is a long narrow strip of territory and from East to West it is a broken low plateau, which spreads from the Western Ghats to the Arabian Sea. The major part of its length lies along the seaboard. The area is intersected by many rivers and streams and presents varied and picturesque scenery. It has a population of 18, 89,730 with a density of 389 per Sq.Km. This coastal district is bordered by Udupi district to the North, Chikamagalur district to the Northeast, Hassan district to the east, Kodagu district to the Southeast and Kasaragod district to the South in the Southern state of Kerala. The Arabian Sea abounds it on the West. The two coastal districts the UK. and DK have a coastline of 340 Kms. These coastal districts form a unique strip of land which spreads between the mighty Arabian Sea and the mountainous terrain of Western Ghats.

2.1.1 The studies have shown that in the pre-independent India, Canara district was sensitized to the political changes, both regional and national. It is crucially important to know its relative position in terms of its culture and economic prosperity in the state of Karnataka in the 21st century. DK situated on the West coast has witnessed intermingling and sharing of societal aspects and cultural expressions owing to its proximity to Mumbai in Maharashtra on the one hand and Kasargod in Kerala and Chennai in Tamilnadu on the other. The City and district where (Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay) KC was born warrants description as she justifies in her autobiography, 'I believe the physical surroundings are as significant as the personal in moulding us. I grew up in a most beautiful countryside. It seemed like a well-designed landscape. Nestling right under the rising Western Ghats, the town carried their stamp on it, its roads rising and falling.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986: 9*) The Saraswat community to which she belonged was given to intellectual and philanthropically leanings and has been known to be progressive. The Madras District Manual describes Saraswats as, 'It may well be said that their social novels indicate that the Saraswats in Dakshina Kannada district had been the first to react to the social and political changes in the province compared to other educated classes in any other region of Karnataka.' The Saraswat Brahmins came down from the north several years ago and settled in Goa during the Portuguese rule. They fled Goa, fearing Christian missionaries of conversion to Christianity and settled in the coastal region that is Karwar and Mangalore during the rule of Keladi Kings. In the 19th century, the Saraswats were deeply influenced by socio-religious movements like 'Brahmo Samaj', 'Arya Samaj', 'Prarthana Samaj', 'The Theosophical society' and 'The Basel Mission'. Especially women's education became more acceptable due to their impact. Consequently, they became less orthodox, exhibited greater elasticity with regard to caste taboos and on issues like 'Crossing the Seas.' The Saraswat Brahmins were in the forefront of literary activity in the district and they wrote the very first social novels in Kannada. After Tippu (1799) the first region to come directly under British rule was DK and the Christ missionaries began extending their activities in the first

half of the 19th century. 'The Basel Mission', which was in frontline in literary and industrial activities in India, had its centre situated at Mangalore. This organization started in 1815 by the German speaking Protestant Christians of Basel town in Switzerland propagated Christianity. These Pioutist-fundamentalist Christians opened their centre in Mangalore in 1834 and till 1920s, they dominated the religious, social, economic and educational landscape of DK.(Padikkal,2001:48).¹ Dr. Havnoor identifies that up to First World War more than 100 missionaries came to India and half of them worked in the literary field. Besides taking up tasks like script improvement, book printing, editing, dictionary and anthology writing, journalism etc, the Basel Mission established industries, which accounts for DK's phenomenal industrial progress. Hebik, Kittle, Hawk, Hooper, Kees, Moegling, Flebist and so on are the Basel Mission's chief missionaries. The missionaries through their schools and industries strived to develop qualities of Capitalist moralism i.e. competence and industry; the qualities which according to them envisioned a 'Modern Man'. This new education and industry were complementary in reversing the Indian traditional lifestyle. This fact has been recorded in Industrial Commission Report of Basel Mission as, "We believe that our industrial work culture will succeed as training. Both efficiency and obedience in work create a deep impact on human nature". (Basel Mission Industrial Report, 1850) In accordance with Christian definition of a 'confident citizen' the Basel Mission considered it its responsibility to civilize the people of this region. It contended that its pioutist fundamentalist approach of industry, efficiency and a universal view were not just Christian approaches, but these ought to be the qualities of a 'Modern Man'. By the year 1912, there were 20,000 students in 204 schools run by the Basel Mission and by about 1900, there were 3500 workers (including non-Christians) working in the tiles factories and textile mills run by it. This data reflects the phenomenal success of Basel Mission in terms of industries in Malabar and DK.

Frank Colon observes that as in other regions, it was the civilized class Hindus who made use of this education. The following statement is noteworthy, "Although there was free admission for all in the schools, these

were mostly full with upper class people. They viewed English education as a gateway to a government job” (Padikkal,2001 :50)² The Saraswats in DK took advantage of this education. As other Brahmins were agriculture based, the Saraswats complemented their progress by being in the literary and business fields. Their progress and the quality of adaptability to time and situation have been appreciated in the Madras District Manual as, “Saraswats are a progressive class. By their intelligence and practical approach of adapting to time and situation, they have acquired influential posts in Government service...As a class they are chiefly writers, businessmen, and teachers. The Madras District Gazetteer (Padikkal, 2001: 50) also mentions that Saraswats were in the forefront in the educational field, and most of them were doctors, lawyers and in high posts in Government service. The dynamism of the Saraswats, which differed from the traditional way of life, has been well appreciated. “They are a dynamic and progressive class. They do not attach much value to a particular type of life.” says E. Thirswerne in his study. Saraswats’ quality of adaptability was ultimately an attempt to safeguard their caste.

Frank Colon’s study records that that since 18th century, when they began their migration from Goa, this caste underwent several changes to save its identity.(Padikkal,2001 :50-51) The British Government in the first half of the 19th century created new opportunities without making much difference in the local social structure. The Saraswats utilized these opportunities by using their background of service and of being literate. Besides getting employed in the British Government by coming in contact with emerging administration, they got the opportunity to learn new vision and techniques. They utilized these new ideas to reorganize their caste. The English education, which enabled Saraswats to get jobs, also caused problems in their community. The educational order of Basel Mission began to shake the religious faith of the Saraswats. (Padikkal,2001 :51) The newly educated class protested against the traditional structures. When the educated modern Saraswats started giving up their daily religious practices, the religious reformists insisted on

performance of traditional duties and responsibilities. This led to a religious and ideological conflict between the two groups which further led to heated debates on the subjects like, the question of 'Crossing the Seas',³ the issue of child marriage, objection to tonsuring of widow's hair⁴ etc. This conflict can be considered as an attempt by the Saraswats to retain their identity in a changing society. Consequently, during the British administration there was a need once again on the part of the Saraswats to safeguard their identity. This attributes for their 'deep social thinking' and 'reformist aspirations'. The chief reason for this was their exposure to English education.

The family environment provided implicit value parameters i.e. the old world ambience to her formative time and by breaking all conventions, KC married Harindranath Chattopadhyay, a Bengali and brother of freedom fighter Sarojini Naidu. It being a widow marriage was considered scandalous in those times and those involved were being ostracized. This widow remarriage in the early 20th century not only created furore in the family and community circles but signaled her liberated and independent outlook. She transcended the barriers of region, language, caste and an unorthodox civil marriage was performed when the Indian society was conservative and tradition bound by which she exhibited a daring defiance of social norms.

Her mother Girijabai closely monitored KC's education and gave her modern English education besides training her in Hindustani and Carnatic music, playing of Sarangi when music was considered disreputable for the ladies of respectable families. Not only did Girijabai set up a 'Women's Association' but she evinced keen interest in women's education and women's issues. This women's association still continues to function after celebrating its 75th anniversary.

Her father Anantaiah donated a building to National Girls' High School started by Dr. Annie Besant and he accommodated poor rural children at his house, who could ill afford schooling and other expenses.

2.1.2 Mangalore, is situated on the mouth and confluence of two rivers- Netravati and Gurpur. Despite the fact that Udupi and Kasaragod districts are separated from DK and made independent districts, all the three districts put together are called Tulu Nadu, as Tulu is the mother tongue of the majority people of the region.

2.1.3 The DK area especially shares with the state of Kerala several features in terms of customs, rituals, ceremonies etc. Snake worship being the most significant among them. The indigenous folk dance 'Yakshagana' reflects certain trends that remind one of the leading dance form of Kerala namely Kathakali.

2.2 Historical Perspective

A brief study of historical aspects of this district is attempted because it underwent several political upheavals leading to social, economic and demographical changes. Historical Records prove that Tulu Nadu's Ports traded with far off lands such as Greece, Rome Egypt, and the Mediterranean and later with Arab Countries. Trading with Arab countries still continues. The Alupa dynasty ruled this region from 8th to 14th century AD, as a feudatory of all the major Kannada empires of those times and made Kannada their official language. The Kadambas were the first rulers to give the language of Kannada its administrative status and the Chalukyas of Badami, gave it its cultural status. Over the ages, this region came under the rule of several dynasties or clans. To begin with Kadamabas, a Brahmin ruling clan who planted a Kadamba tree in front of their house, ruled the region followed by the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas and finally it came under the rule of the Vijayanagar empire. Through all this, the region once known as Tulu Nadu, comprising small kingdoms, contrived to retain its own identity and paid tribute to an overlord, only when demanded. Women led armies and fought successful battles. The most outstanding was Abbakka Devi who won resounding fame, while she was the queen of Ullal, which is a suburb of Mangalore now. Abbakka Devi successfully resisted the Portuguese invaders for nearly three decades and refused to pay any tribute.

2.2.1 The city of Mangalore is said to derive its name from a queen named Mangala Devi, who is said to have lived in the 10th century. The Chinese traveler, Ibn Batuta after his visit to Mangalore in AD 1342 records that he arrived at a place named Manjurun or Mandjan situated in a large estuary. Manjurun in the course of time might have led to derivation of the name Mangalore. In AD 1520 the Portuguese took over Mangalore from Vijayanagar rulers. With the falling of the city of Vijayanagar in 1565 AD, Vijayanagara empire's hold on Karnataka weakened. Down the ages the Keladi rulers succeeded Vijayanagar in the region till its occupation by Hyder Ali in 1763. Keladi rulers were Veerashaivas whose renowned queen was Keladi Chennamma. She had adopted a son who was a Sanskrit scholar who authored the famous 'Shivatatva Ratnakara'.

2.2.2 Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan are two notable figures in the History of Karnataka who played a major role in shaping the history of south India. They also clashed with the British. In the 18th century Hyder Ali turned the picturesque port of Mangalore into a naval arsenal and dockyard for the entire coast. He came into conflict with British due to his expansionist activities in Tamil Nadu. His son Tippu Sultan was indomitable and well read. He defeated the British at Wandiwash in 1783 AD besides improving the dockyard with big warships each mounted with over 50 Canons.

2.2.3 Till 1956, the DK district or South Canara as it is also called was under the Madras province. After the exit of British in 1947, the Indian states were reorganized in 1956 on linguistic lines. As a result of reorganization of states, the state of Karnataka was formed and DK became a part of Karnataka. Besides, in the same year Kasargod was separated from DK and transferred to the newly created state of Kerala. Further, the Government of Karnataka for the purpose of administration, separated Udupi and certain parts of DK and created the Udupi district in 1998. As of now the DK has 5 taluks. Notwithstanding the state boundaries the people of Kasargod district in Kerala and DK and Udupi districts in Karnataka speak Tulu. However

Tulu language and its people have been closely associated with Kannada language as Tulu has been written in Kannada script for many centuries.

2.3 National Movement and No-Tax campaign in Canara District

2.3.1 As Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience Movement took off in 1930 the freedom movement gained momentum in Karnataka. Independence Day was observed in Bangalore, Tumkur, Mysore by hoisting the National Flag on 26 January 1930. Dr. N.S. Hardikar, founded the Hindustani Seva Dal, in 1923. The Seva Dal Headquarters was situated at Hubli and he trained about 1700 volunteers from Karnataka (Suryanath Kamath) alone, who served in the Belgaum Congress Session held in 1924 and KC was one among them. It is mention worthy here that be it the freedom struggle or any other question of national importance, the Canara district was the focal point of activity in the region. It was politically 'conscious' and the people were proactive to the national issues.

2.3.2 As early as in 1922 Karnataka Regional Political Council elected Smt Sarojini Naidu as President at Mangalore. When Gandhi launched his historic Dandi March also known as the Salt Satyagraha, it was offered at Ankola on 13 April 1930 leading to the arrest of over 10,000 Satyagrahees led by a veteran freedom fighter, M.D. Nadkarni.⁵ The eminent historian Suryanath Kamat⁶ points out that besides men, women also participated on a large scale in the freedom movement. They braved police lathis and bullets, courted arrest and underwent all sorts of atrocities in jail. The women who plunged into freedom movement were leaders like: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Umabai Kundapur, Krishnabai Panjekar, Bellary Siddhamma, Yashodhamma Dasappa, Gouramma Venkataramaiah and Jayalakshmi Keshava Rao. The peasants in Canara district rose in revolt against the British and refused to pay land revenue and organized themselves into rebellions Kutas in 1931.

2.3.3 To launch the No-Tax campaign, four talukas were selected Viz Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapur in Uttar Kannada (UK) district and Hirekerur in

Dharwad district. The people having been sensitized involved themselves in a more serious No-Tax campaign launched after the Bardoli experience. The No-Tax campaign taken up by the peasants of UK district led to repression and massive scale arrests. The poorest women peasants lodged in Hindalga women's, prison, Belgaum, narrated their tales of woe to KC. She describes the peasant women who were her prison mates from UK as the 'poorest of the poor'. When the two districts were one as a single Canara district, the No-Tax campaign was a success, which frustrated the administration leading to the tearing the district into two parts. As a result, the Northern part was attached to Bombay presidency and the Southern to Madras presidency. If we probe the reasons for the poverty in UK we understand that the prosperity of Bombay city did not touch the tail end of the presidency that is UK. But conversely all parts in Madras presidency developed educationally, industrially and socially. Mangalore in DK never had the dynastic land lord owned large tracts, fields or plantations and small districts. The peasants in DK never knew the abject poverty with large concentration of possessions in the hands of a few landlords, as was the case in UK.

2.3.4 In UK district, as KC states,

'A full meal was a luxury; they simply had to make do with what they could get. They covered their bodies with pieces of cloth...there were no schools in their region, whereas I was used to at least one school in every village. Illiteracy was unknown to us... Since Gandhiji's call reached them, they had become aware of their own inadequacies that they did not live as humans, in dignity, in self-respect... They wanted freedom not only for them, but all who were today in bondage like themselves... They repeated in a kind of anguish: No one should be in bondage ... The Mahatma has made us free, so we are not afraid... Such intimate communication was largely facilitated through my

familiarity with their language Kannada.’ (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :175*)

2.3.5 Even before Gandhiji’s launching of the freedom struggle, UK has had a long history of satyagraha. Unlike DK, it was predominantly agricultural with a forest area and poor landless population. Majority of the population depended on forest produce, grazing the cattle and other related activities. Their demands had been to possess cultivated land, improved breed cattle, adequate grazing area, and remission of grazing fees. From 1904 sporadic agitations continued, till 1914 when a ‘Vana Dukha Nivarana Sabha’ was set up for better organizational action.

2.3.6 As fallout of political upheavals Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement and his Constructive Programme was vigorously pursued. In 1932 it assumed a full scale No-Tax Satyagraha drawing participants from other sectors, especially the areca plantation workers, classed as the most backward and the poorest, and it acquired a larger proportion as an integral part of national political freedom struggle. Although reminiscent of Bardoli Satyagraha in Gujarat, this Karnataka epic, which has remained unknown, had spread, widely involving thousands from all social and economic levels. It however remained confined to the agriculture class. The Karnataka Satyagraha can be related as one of the benchmarks of the 1932-33 movement. This unique movement led by the peasant leader Venkataramaiah,⁷ brought him success and the title, ‘Sardar’ after the Bardoli fashion.

2.3.7 The testimony to the dimension of the movement is the fact that a thousand peasant families lost everything in this struggle. The situation was so volatile and repressive, that women could not remain out of it. The deep involvement by women brought out the cry, “Each day brings a new hour of trial and every trial an ever new symbol of national force”. (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :177*)

2.3.8 The peasants inspired by the Himalayan, ‘Chipko Movement, were the earliest to react to the rising ecological imbalances in their environment

caused by afforestation, and consequently, the Appiko Movement was initiated in the very setting where once the No-Tax campaign had raged.

2.3.9 Several national leaders visited Mangalore owing to its consciousness in the nation's affairs. Gandhi visited Mangalore thrice: in 1920, 1927, and 1934.(Kamat, 1974-75 DK Dist Vol 1 :399) Dr. Suratkal Srinivasa Rao, a retired doctor recollects that KC and Harindranath Chattopadhyay (HC) used to make thread out of cotton and exchange the thread for fresh cotton from the *Nooluva Neyuva Mattu Badagi Kelasada Taragati* which was adjacent to Tilak School in Mangalore.(Kamat, 1974-75 DK Vol I: 422)

2.4 Social Reformation

Socio-religious and Dalit Movements in Mangalore

DK district belonged to Madras province in the mid 19th century British period. This district testifies to its plurality in ethnicity and multilingual character to its background besides the turbulent times it witnessed right from 8th century onwards when Alupas ruled the area. It had been overtly sensitive to socio-political changes taking place there. A testimony to this was the movement against untouchability started here long before Gandhiji included it in the list of constructive programme. The social reformation programmes ran parallelly with India's progression in the freedom struggle. The district being on the west coast line has sustained the onslaught from outside and successfully countered the turmoil evolving a unique and distinctive character of its own by retaining its identity.

2.4.1 The Social Reformation in India started with Bengal Renaissance in early 19th century, which heralded multiple socio-religious movements. The Indian Renaissance was the fallout of modern English education. Colonialism led social thinkers to ponder over socio-religious questions. The defects and decay in the Indian society brought out strong responses from the 'Radicals'. The Sanskrit works were translated into English and other vernacular languages. The imposition of western culture and ideas on the Indian society was viewed with suspicion leading to several thinkers to

ruminate over various serious issues concerning Indian society like women's education, untouchability and other social evils.

2.4.2 The Sarswat community was deeply influenced by reform movements. The Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj opened their centers in 1870 and in the latter part of the 19th Century respectively resulting in less orthodoxy and greater elasticity with regard to caste taboos.

2.4.3 It is seen that in D.K district pioneering efforts were taken up by social reformers like Dalitoddharaka⁸ Kudmul Ranga Rao, the grand father-in-law of KC, Ullal Raghunathaiah, Nyampalli Subba Rao, the son-in-law of Kudmul Ranga Rao and father-in-law of KC, Nyampalli Ram Rao, Karnad Sadashivarayaru and so on.

2.4.4 Kudmul Ranga Rao was a Saraswat Brahmin, of Kudmul, a village, 40 Kms from Mangalore in Kasargod district which now forms a part of the state of kerala. His pioneering endeavours were for the upliftment of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the Devadasis. The 'Depressed Classes Mission' (DCM), set up at Kodialbail in Mangalore in 1892 was the beginning of the battle against untouchability by Kudmul Ranga Rao, who could communicate in four languages Kannada, Konkani, Tulu and English, which in turn is indicative of multilingual nature of Mangalore.

2.4.5 The 'DCM' founded by K.Ranga Rao, headed by Ullal Raghunathaiah, took up setting up of a school in 1892 at Urva Hilambi besides building 'Star Hole' a huge building at Kapikadu a colony in Mangalore for the Dalits. These initiatives for Dalits were started long before Gandhi started his constructive programme comprising eradication of untouchability as one of the components. The Dalits in Mangalore constituted the 'Koppa' community and the 'Koragas', who were extremely poor and nomadic wandering in the hilly forest areas. The Koragamen used to disguise as women and hag which K.Ranga Rao opposed and persuaded them to earn their livelihood. K. Ranga Rao's strong opposition to the widely prevalent practices in Mangalore like black magic, animal sacrifice and Bhootaradhane⁹

in the late 19th century is indicative of the level of awareness and an emergence of new thinking in the people of the region.

2.4.6 K.Ranga Rao's son-in-law Dr. Subbraya, was a Dalit and this inter-caste marriage in 1912 was a proof enough to the emergence of social reformation movement in the district. Prior to this, the arrival of German missionaries with their missionary activities like opening of schools and factories were the contributory factors. Not only was the educational work taken up by the opening of schools in 1834 by Basel Mission in Mangalore, they started hospital besides launching the first Kannada newspaper "The Mangaluru Samachara".

2.4.7 When Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 in Calcutta, its branch was started in Mangalore in 1870, by Ullal Rahunathaiah, son of Ullal Mangeshaiah who was a Divisional Munsiff.

2.4.8 Gandhiji visited the DCM run school in Mangalore on 24th February 1934 and commended its services to the 'untouchables' community. Besides, Gandhi's calling K.Ranga Rao as his 'guru' signifies the untouchability mission being taken up vigorously in the area.

2.4.9 It is seen that besides, K. Ranga Rao, noted freedom fighter 'Deshabandhu' Karanad Sadashivarayaru, participated in the activities of the Brahmo Samaj. As education of women and eradication of untouchability became the prime concern and the focus of reform, various socio-religious reform movements like 'The Theosophical Society,' the 'Brahmo Samaj' patronized the DCM. Eminent personalities like Rabindranath Tagore, C.F. Andrews, Dr. Annie Besant, Gandhiji, G.K. Gokhale, Thacker Bafa, G.K.Dheodhar, Hon Srinivas Sastri also patronized D.C.M. Dr. Carnadas of Brahmo Samaj donated liberally not only to DCM but to the Orphanage and the Boarding House started by K.Ranga Rao in shedigudde. In 1922, DCM was handed over to 'Servants of India Society'(SIS). The SIS there after handed over the DCM school and the properties of DCM to Madras

Government in 1953. Besides his contribution in freedom struggle, Karnadu Sadashivarayaru served for 2 months in Mangalore district with Gopal Swami Aiyar for the eradication of untouchability.

2.4.10 Among the Neo-religious movements, as they were sometimes called, The Theosophical Society founded in 1875 by Madam Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in Newyork and the Arya Samaj also founded in 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati opened their branches in Mangalore in 1880 and 1919 respectively.

Eminent Theosophists like Annie Besant, Dr.Cousins, Mrs. Margaret Cousins involved themselves deeply in the issues like Civil Liberties Rights and Women's education. Under the National Education Movement, Dr. Annie Besant started a National Girls' School at Mangalore, headed by Mrs. Cousins.

2.4.11 The Prarthana Samaj, a parallel of Brahmo Samaj, in Bengal was the Indian response to European liberation including ideals of rational and theistic belief. The social reformation impacted the place resulting in a mass following. The Prarthna Samajists were followers of great religious tradition of Maratha Sant Mat (poet-saints) and devoted theists like Namdev, Tukaram and Ramdas who was the Guru of Maratha warrior Chatrapati Shivaji.

2.4.12 The social upheavals in the society are reflected in terms of philanthropist Ullal Raghunathaiah converting to Christianity, then coming out of it and ultimately joining Brahmo Samaj. Likewise, the veteran social reformer K.Ranga Rao joined Arya Samaj in 1927 and wished that, 'Thoti' or Adidravida Community carried his dead body for funeral.

2.4.13 The district was blessed with dalit National Awardee teachers, the alumni of DCM School like Shri Kumble., K.Surya Master, Shri. U.Rama chandra Master, Late Gopal Krishna Master. Dr. Benegal Raghavendra Rao started an Ashrama for women in the memory of K. Ranga Rao, which was later on looked after by late Nayampalli Rama Rao.

2.5 The Society

When the British defeated Tippu Sultan in 1799, the first region in Karnataka to come directly under their rule was Dakshina Kannada. Over the centuries the Dakshina Kannada district also called Tuluvanadu or Tulunadu witnessed Buddhism, Jainism, and Catholicism. Jainism still continues to be a force, manifested in its temples and one of them has thousand pillars. Another Jain monument is the sixty ft high statue of Gomateshwara.

2.5.1 Mangalore is at the confluence of three different linguistic and cultural streams. The original Tulu speaking inhabitants with their Bhuta religion, the Kannada speaking Hindus who are mainly Saivites and Konkani speaking Saraswats, cousins of the Marathi culture of Bhakti saints like Namdev and Tukaram. Besides, there is a substantial Christian population and some Jains whose famous shrine Gomateshwara is near Mangalore.

2.5.2 There are Konkani speaking Catholics mostly migrants from Goa who are active in agriculture and industry. The Protestants in DK speak Tulu. The Christians are about 20% of the total population. The Neo-religious movements like Brahmo Samaj and The Theosophical Society started their activities in Karnataka in 1870 in Mangalore and later on ie in 1886 in Bangalore.

2.5.3 Arya Samaj started functioning from 1880 but its branch was opened in Mangalore in 1919. Among Tuluvas in Karnataka more than 90% are found in Dakshina Kannada. Tulu native speakers are called Tuluvas and their land is called Tulunadu. Three languages are spoken in Mangalore: Kannada, Tulu and Konkani. Konkani is spoken by Saraswat brahmins.

2.5.4 The main stream kannada speakers are in a minority in this district. However three dialects of Kannada namely Havyaka, Kundapur Kannada and Are bhashe are spoken besides the Konkani language. There is also a sizeable population of muslims about 15% who are called Bearys who speak their own dialect namely 'Beary Bhashe' as their mother tongue. The local dialect

and commercial language of this land is Tulu. Thus the district has besides Tulu, Konkani, Beary speaking, and Urdu speaking people. All linguistic sections conserve their mother tongue but are found to adopt Kannada language for their children's education. Utmost cordiality and understanding exists among various linguistic groups, which make it a unique feature of the region. People of one linguistic group mingle freely and enjoy other group's cultural forms.

2.5.5 In the early years the boundaries of caste distinctions were more marked and the occupational monopoly of each caste was generally not encroached upon by others. The folk religion 'Bhuta' seems to have helped to promote a sense of social belonging among persons of various castes. At the time of observance of Bhuta festival the equality of all castes was reasserted as it were, for on all occasions the differences in rank and status were ignored. Thus the Bhuta faith established in the rural community a stable equilibrium economically, socially and culturally. Furthermore it provided encouragement for the continuance and development of certain rural sports, which as in all old societies causes a mingling of arts and sports.

2.5.6 Each caste had its own distinct identity and functions and thereby developed its own distinct cultural forms and expressions. The three outstanding castes are Nalke, Panas and Koragas. The Panas and Nalke have their own dance dramas built around the bhuta rituals, which surprisingly enough have become quite stylized, and are far removed from the crude and primitive forms.

2.5.7 The Basel Mission started its first- school in 1836 at Mangalore. Presently DK district is in the forefront in education. Primary and secondary education has reached every section of society. The district has the credit of being the first district in Karnataka to achieve 100% literacy. In the higher education too the district had made a tremendous progress. Students from different parts of India come to DK and Udupi districts because of the high standards of education. A host of educational institutes offering courses in

Medicine, Engineering, Pharmacy, Nursing, Hotel and Catering and Management are located in this district.

2.5.8 It has a sex ratio of 1022 females per 1000 males when the All India figures stands at 933 females per 1000 males (2001 census). Another social aspect is the 'Katta' which serves as a community centre, where the household of neighborhood could get together. It was also a shelter for Wayfarers, for the magnificent people, the tree offered protection as well as mental relaxation.

2.5.9. Among the rituals, the cock fight had gradually become a popular sport-. Similarly the ritual Kamabala, the buffalo-race, has also developed into a popular sporting event of the district. The general belief among the votaries that Yakshagana Bayalata (literally a play performed in the field) would appease the Bhutas provided much needed sustenance and encouragement to these arts. The DK district can be called land of culture, tradition and rituals. Even in today's 21st Century most people of the district follow traditions, customs and rituals despite having received modern education. Deep spiritualism is attached to ancient Gods and Goddesses.

2.5.10 Another significant aspect is the publication of the first Kannada newspaper, 'Mangaluru Samachara' which was published by a German missionary, Herman Moegling of Basel Mission, on July 1st 1843, who was also its editor. Although the prime idea behind this lithographic venture was propagation of Christianity, it supplied news as well.

2.5.11 The publication of Kannada-English dictionary, the first of its kind was originally done in 1894 by Rev. Ferdinand Kittle which was another significant accomplishment of the missionaries of Basel Mission.

2.6 Cultural milieu

Dakshina Kannada district offers a wide range of folk arts and sports like: Yakshagana, Kambala (buffalo-race) and Bhootada Kola (a common form of spiritual worship). Bhutas or demigods are believed to be divine spirits that enter human bodies and bless people. Korikatta (cock fight), which was

a pastime of rural agrarian people but unfortunately, has turned into gambling. Naga Mandala (a ritualistic worship of the Serpent God). The people of DK district worship serpent God (Subramanya). According to a legend, the district was reclaimed by Parasurama from the Sea. Hence worship of serpent God is done to original inhabitants (Serpents) Many rituals like Nagaradhane are performed and Pili Vesha (the dance of men painted in tiger colours are the various folk expressions which are unique to this district. The Panas, Paravas and Pambadas too perform some of the Bhuta rituals to music and dances of their own. The Panas and Nalke have their own dance dramas built around the Bhuta rituals which surprisingly enough have become quite stylized, far removed and from the crude and primitive.

2.6.1 The basic culture of Tulunadu still holds not withstanding the ponderous external pressures exerted on it, the life centers around the Bhuta religion. It is too substantial and pervasive to be called a 'Cult'. This is not to be mixed with demonlatory, which is reduced to witchcraft or propitiation of devils. Bhuta still continues to receive impressive participation of the public, most of whom also worship the other world Hindu Pantheon. Several of their old wooden temples are renovated with more durable material. It has tremendous vitality not merely to survive but dominate like a hardy Perennial. The three outstanding castes are Nalke, Panas and Koragas, each has its own style of music, musical instruments, dances and related properties, costumes, headgears, ornaments etc Their role is to propitiate a certain category of Bhutas through rituals. These are performed to certain dance, chief among them to the accompaniment of songs: Paddanas.¹⁰ The Koragas, considered the lowest in social rung are really most colourful of them all, as also the important, for even to this day it is their drummers that lead in the front when the temple deity is taken out in a procession, which proves that originally caste at levels was functional, giving equal importance to every socio-economic section of society, each of which had its own significant contribution to make, before the present rigid divisions and distortions were brought in. They have

their own Pantheon of deities to whom they perform their own rituals to the accompaniment of their own various group dances.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986: 14*)

2.6.2 One kind of Bhuta worship is a community one, which is a public programme and shared by all which is called 'Kola'. A ceremony held within the house is called 'Dema'. Local people of all castes believe in the Bhutas. Therefore one naturally finds strands of Hinduism in the bhutas tales. Each caste has its own distinct identity and thereby has developed its own distinct cultural forms and expressions. The animalistic cult of Bhuta worship (of spirits) prevails in malnad coastal districts of Karnataka. Bhutas are generally the spirits of the departed men or women who are worshipped in small shrines dedicated to them. On certain days in the year special services are offered to the Bhuta, when the Bhuta dancer (mostly the Harijan caste) who wear the crown, mask, dress, weapons and other such Paraphernalia connected with the Bhuta and speaks under a trance with devotees. It gives hearing to their grievances and woes and promises redressal. The Bhuta dance is a fine example of folk art with aryanisation. These Bhutas have been identified with Ganas(attendants) of Shiva. All Shiva temples in DK have bhutas attached to them. The Bhutas have cast their spell on all castes of this region. They are believed to protect their devotees, settle disputes and promise to punish the enemies of the devotees. Small shrines called 'Gudis' or 'Kotyas' are built in honour of a Bhuta whereon a bench or swing, its mask, sword etc are kept. Folklore in Tulu is mainly found in the form of Paddanas (Pardana), Sandi, Kavite, Uralu, Madipu, Nritya, Paddy, Gadi, Ogatu, Jooguloo, Ajjikathe etc. The Paddanas narrate the history of the bhutas, heroes and quasi heroes of Tulunadu who were worshipped. The bhuta dancers use Madipus and Nalikas. In DK every village has a special place for its Bhuta known as 'Bhutastana'. The officiating Pujari (Priest) is a Billava, of the fisherman's caste. The concept of Bhuta is however rather complex for it is also tied with ancestors. In fact the term Bhuta literally means a ghost, the

spirit of the departed. Innumerable shrines scattered through out the district are dedicated to the spirits of the deceased celebrities who in their lifetime had acquired more than local reputation as benefactors or for heroic deeds whose memory is thus kept green. There are also bhutas of the jungle, diseases and pestilence, who play tricks and make themselves a nuisance. There are Bhutas who protect and guard villages, especially the boundaries, very crucial in old days. Some are seen to evoke fear and awe like those representing dangerous diseases and have to be propitiated by various rites. Inside Bhutastana are found wooden images of human shapes or various creatures from the tiger to fowl, like the ox, the horse, the pig as also a giant. These bhutas have a legion of names. Worship of spirits is prevalent in these areas. Rituals like 'Bhuta kola' are done to satisfy the spirits. Likewise the 'Bhuta concept' in D.K. region from KC hailed, served to weave the different communities together because all castes believed in it.

2.6.3 The interesting feature in Yakshagana¹¹ also called Byalata, is that the actors are both Kannada and Tulu speakers. The DK area especially shares with Kerala features in terms of customs, rituals, ceremonies etc. Snake worship being the most significant among them. The Yakshagana reflects certain trends that remind one of the leading art of Kerala namely Kathakali. The hold of Ramayana and Mahabharata on the imagination of the illiterate common man can be seen in the fact that to this day the majority of the themes of their plays come from the stories of these epics. That is how a 'bhagavata' in Yakshagana and 'Himmela' (chorus behind) became the characteristic of their plays. Dance and music predominate. Gradually the actors made themselves up as gods or demons etc to give a sort of credibility. In coastal Karnataka Yakshagana remains popular to this day.

2.6.4 Huli Vesha (Tiger dance) is a unique form of folk dance in the region fascinating young and old alike, which is performed during Dasara and Janamashtami. Karadi Vesha (Bear Dance) is also a popular dance performed during Dasara.

2.7 Economy

Although Mangalore is not the capital of Karnataka, its progressive character has made it what it is today. The Saraswats here speak Konkani and are ethnic groups who have settled on konkan coast of Western India. (Kum- means mother and 'kana' means part or piece). As I have mentioned already this region traded with far off lands such as Greece, Rome and Egypt, the Mediterranean and later with Arab Countries, and trading with the Arab Countries continues.

2.7.1 Traditional industries like cashew, Red clay tiles and beedi being prominent of them have sustained the onslaught of globalisation. Mangalore is a hub for cash crops like spices and condiments. Trade commodities like Pepper, Arecanut, Coconut and Cardamom are also grown. Cane craft, cane furniture, Areca palm hats, Areca palm craft are not only a speciality of the Canara region but add to the economy besides conserving the traditional character of the place. The Basel Mission brought weaving and Roof Tiles industries to DK District. The Beedi industry is responsible for the prosperity among the locals. The district is famous for clay roof tiles also known as Mangalore tiles, Cashew nut and its products, banking, education and of course for its cuisine. Cashew Industry needs a special mention, as the units are modernized, they offer quality kernels and is a great boost to the local economy. It has also helped in the emancipation of women, offering labour opportunities and thus keeping poverty at bay in the entire district. Cashew plantations on a large scale have been raised in coastal districts of the state viz UK and DK Since 1950 under the state and centrally sponsored schemes. In DK district about 15,000 workers work in the cashew-curing field out of which 95% are women. They earn Rs 9-12 per Kg for peeling and Rs 8/per kg for cutting. They earn Rs 81/ per day. The Mangalore based Achal Industries is World's First ISO 22000 Cashew factory. The Cashew Research Institute is situated Mangalore.

2.7.2 The birth of five Indian reputed nationalized banks accounts for the DK district is called as the 'Cradle of Indian banking'. Agriculture takes

a backseat because of influx of money from natives scuttled in other areas. Farms and fields are converted into residential plots and commercial complexes. The people of this district working in the Gulf countries and other states of India show their progressive spirit. Horticulture has not prospered because of high labor cost and non-availability of labor.

2.7.3 The major industries of D.K. are concentrated along Mangalore
viz

- a. Mangalore Chemical and Fertilizers Limited (MCF) .
- b..Kudremukh Iron Ore Company Limited (KIOCL).
- c.. Mangalore Refinery and Petrochemicals Limited (MRPL)
- d..The Campco Chocolate factory is also the trademark of this port city.

2.7.7 Service sector is booming with setting up of Institutes and Information Technology related Services (IT & ITES). Major Information Technology and Outsourcing Companies have started locating their facilities in Mangalore viz. Infosys, Lasersoft, Infosystems Limited, Mphasis BPO etc. Wipro would also join soon the above group. 4 ITSEZ, 1 EPIP are under construction with business centers, convention centers, and mall and helipad facility. The ONGC plans a multiproduct SEZ with an investment of over Rs 35,000 Crores. The Central Marine Fisheries with headquarters at Cochin has one the Research Center at Mangalore and the other at Karwar. This region of Karnataka is abounding in cane and the luxuriant growth of this material has given the cane craft a very sound base in this area. The cane is pursued by particular castes known as Medars, Burds and Koragas. Mats are also prepared from palm leaves in places of Dakshina Kannada.

Notes

- 1. See also Dr. Srinivas Havanoor's 'Hosagannadada Arunodaya' P 107-132
- 2. Frank Colon, 'A Caste in a Changing World': Chitrapur Brahmins' 1700-1935, 1977 P 78)
- 3. The Act of going abroad was a caste taboo in the early 20th century.

4. The derogatory practice of removing the hair in case a woman who became a widow.
5. A veteran freedom fighter
6. An eminent historian from Karnataka.
7. A peasant leader of the Seva Dal and was also head of the Seva Dal Training Academy in Bagalkot.
8. A Dalitoddharaka literally means a champion of the downtrodden.
9. It is a unique ritual in the DK district where the spirits of the dead are invoked and worshipped through a dance
10. These are songs in Tulu in praise of the Bhutas .
11. A folk dance drama performance with colourful costumes and dramatic interludes of music, mime and witty dialogues by different characters.

CHAPTER 3

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay: A Life's Journey

- 3.1. Childhood, Family and Community Background
- 3.2. Formulation of Mission.
- 3.3. Positive influences
- 3.4. Negative Influences
- 3.5. Mission to Action / Vision to Reality

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay: A Life's Journey

3.1 Childhood, Family and Community background

Jasleen Dhamija a close associate and an internationally renowned art expert commented about KC when she was chosen for the Charles Eames Award as: "I remember Romesh Thapar telling me in the mid-'80's, "My dear the high power committee to choose one individual of our era who has contributed most to the 'Quality of Life' has unanimously selected Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, even with her arch enemy chairing the committee." This was Charles Eames award. It was wonderful news for those of us who had worked with her and shared her dreams.¹

3.1.1 If India considers KC as one of the millenium's 100 great people, then her magnificent contribution to upliftment of the Indian woman, nation's freedom struggle and Handicrafts Movement must be given due recognition.

3.1.2 KC, the fourth child born to Anantaiah Dhareshwar and Girijabai on April 3, 1903 in Mangalore, DK district of karnataka state in India, being a Saraswat Brahmin inherited her caste traits. I mentioned in the 2 Chapter that the Saraswat Brahmins are linked to Saraswati river, and are said to be of Aryan descent migrated from the dried plains of Saraswati river, towards the South and settled in Goa, fearing the christian misssionaries of conversion to christianity and settled in the coastal area, the canara region in Karnataka. Anantaiah Dhareshwar, KC's father. a self made man, retired as a District Collector, a prestigious post in the late 19th century and Girijabai, KC's mother hailed from an aristocratic family was inclined to liberal spending and sophistication and knew that inheritance was yet not available to Hindu

women and economic security could be assured to them only through education. KC's family spoke Konkani, a dialect with literary mother tongue Marathi, Kannada and Sanskrit.

3.2 Formulation of Mission

3.2.1 Kamladevi Chattopadhyay, a woman endowed with a sensitive mind, spirit of inquiry possessed iconoclastic outlook and encyclopedic interest. Her understanding was shaped by various influencing factors including people and institutions that contributed to that shaping of her character. She being called by various names like, 'Champion of the downtrodden', Social Activist', 'Mother of Handicrafts' and so on proves that her range of activities were wide and often intertwined. Basically a social worker and nation builder, it is difficult to compartmentalize her areas of interest and action. She being a rebel with an independent spirit, which she inherited from her mother and grandmother, besides the circumstances in which she grew also shaped her rebellious thinking. KC's pioneering contribution as a nation builder has been forgotten albeit it must be admitted that her mission and life were inseparable. Her life was so integrated with mission that she defied those structures, which bound a woman in the shackles of age-old patriarchy.

3.2.2 This chapter deals with the journey of her life, and the circumstances and institutions that had direct bearings on the formulation of her mission and eventually translation of it into practice. She exhibited tremendous indigenous sensitivity, deliberately identifying with Indian cultural heritage. Her urge to relieve the human being of poverty, helplessness, and oppression and restore the dignity was unmistakably visible in her words and deeds. Be it India's freedom struggle, women's emancipation or Indian artisan's endangered identity, she envisioned freedom and relief to Indians or rather specifically to human beings. Her human-centric approach reflected a keen sense of being a Gandhian and her responses and initiatives were befitting

the times and contextually relevant. Her challenge of traditional structures and practices was caused by an urge to relieve Indian artisan of downtroddenness and indignity and empower Indian woman.

3.2.3 Her pro-Indian approach evolved from her childhood days when she was impacted by remarkable personalities who visited her house besides the deliberate attempts by her mother to associate her with eminent nation builders like Dr. Annie Besant, Pandita Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade to name a few. It can be argued that she was not less influenced by socialists like Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Achyut Patwardhan, Yusuf Meherally, Virendranath Chattopadhyay and so on. Her deep conviction to see India free took birth with her pledge when she enlisted herself to Seva Dal under the leadership of Dr. Hardikar and Umabai Kundapur. Even after receiving English education with Senior Cambridge in Queen Mary's and in St. Mary's after Senior Cambridge, she deliberately kept her 'Indianness' throughout her life.

3.2.4 Her deep awareness and perception of creative expression were the outcome of political changes in India and were contextually relevant. Swadeshi Movement and the Social Reform Movement made her to evolve her tremendous indigenous sensitivity. The processes, initial, middle and of the later years and personalities whom she came across did influence her. The degree of impact of these people and factors may vary but all of them contributed to the formation and development of her mission and vision. She was a humanist, creative and constructive feminine liberationist and non-confrontationist when viewed from the western feminist perspective. It is more than difficult to write objectively and impersonally of a great personality, but my attempt would be to adhere to objectivity as KC herself acknowledges in the context of even writing of a biography "...it is necessary to be objective and dispassionate, something not too close, I do not think that in a life story one is required to lower the barriers of the discreet reticence which govern our everyday life and affairs ..."(*Chattopadhyay, 1986:2*)

It is indisputable that rich experiences and the stimulating patterns of her childhood; and the progressive outlook of her parents, her mother, largely shaped her responses, reactions and values in particular. Being progressive did not exclude observances of the customary Brahmin rituals and Hindu festivals. She was exposed to devotional rites, pujas, and ceremonies for their aesthetic aspect rather than the religious context. She had this capacity to reconcile ideology with practice, which was consistently obvious in her actions in every field.

3.2.5 Her responses to the issues were prompted by her own experiences which is proved by her endeavours to rescue Indian girl child from the burdens of family responsibility, of early and frequent maternity, save Indian widow of indignity of ugly disfigurement of tonsuring her head and bring her out of the suffocating dark confines of four walls. She voiced the concerns of the Unorganized women laborers in coal sector, textiles, plantation, Cashew nut peeling, agriculture and so on. Through her endeavors she compelled the society to look into the cause of women more seriously and constructively. This paved the way to endeavor for the cause of deprived women and undertake efforts in providing dignity, equality and freedom to them. Her mission was motivated by deep conviction that woman is endowed with productive potential which opened new avenues for women in India. Generations of women in India owe KC greatly not only for her pioneering spirit, courageous forthrightness, innovativeness and a vision not only to elevate women socio-culturally but also provide them with opportunities to live with dignity. Her innovative attempts to document theatre properties and attempts to synchronize other performing art forms, indigenous and folk forms albeit retain their individual flavor make her contribution unique.

3.2.6 KC addressed the issues of Indian artisans who were languishing in poverty and her artist-centric and artisan-centric initiatives were aimed at cultural revival, which ultimately envisioned national resurgence and reconstruction. Her measures to provide succor and dignity to refugees of

Indo-Pak partition were human-centric initiatives, which she encountered with grit and determination.

3.2.7 The Co operative Movement initiated by her with the founding of Indian Co operative Union (ICU) in 1948 of which she was the president , is to be considered as a measure to restore the self esteem of the demoralized refugee by making him self dependent and productive.

3.2.8 The influencing factors which shaped her personality and formulated her mission were both positive and negative. The positive influences with formative and boosting impact prompted her to move with single-minded concentration towards her set targets. Conversely the negative influences, which revealed the discriminations and injustices to her, which resulted in increased gap between not only men and women but the powerful and the helpless, made her deeply determined to rescue the victims out of oppression.

3.3 The Positive Influences

The positive influences which moulded her thinking were both of general and special nature. Those of general type constitute influences any growing child faces like that of the parents, family, the immediate surroundings in terms of the landscape of the place and the community, the political and social milieu, the cultural and demographic patterns. The special influences are to be understood in a sense that they are specific to KC, which played a major role in her life. An attempt is made to trace these influences whether general or special and further examine the extent of impact they made on her thinking over the years in evolving her perception and understanding. She inherited the values and imbibed the perspectives right from her childhood through adolescence to maturity. Every streak in her character can be clearly traced back to one or the other of these influences.

3.3.1 In the the 19th century, the Saraswats were deeply influenced by socio-religious movements. KC's house called 'Dodda Mane' meaning 'big

house' in kannada, situated in Kodialbail area of Mangalore was a meeting place of veteran congress workers which sensitized her towards freedom struggle. Anantaiah donated a building to National Girls' High School started by Dr. Annie Besant and he accommodated poor rural children at his house, which could ill afford schooling and other expenses. A reading of her autobiography *Inner Reccesses Outer spaces: Memoirs* (1986) makes it more than obvious that the landscape of Mangalore and the immediate family environment sensitized her in terms of aesthetic perceptions, sense of justice, feminist perceptions, unconventional and uncommon inclinations. They were a variety of functional objects and decorations made out of natural materials like grass, leaves, fibers, flowers and nuts made by her maternal relatives. The five-acre rice field on which the house stood became a natural theatre for *Yakshagana Bayalata* Girijabai, KC and the family were deeply interested in these indigenous folk forms. The guests and visitors were also shown Yakshagana with a sense of deep pride and honour. She writes in her autobiography, "Festivities were natural happy occasions when the arts instincts in everyone in household came into full play. Even planning them was exciting; arranging existing things with a keen eye on achieving a total aesthetic; therefore pleasing effect. The emphasis was on home made things."(Chattopadhyay,1986 :3) which explains her aesthetic sensitivity which bloomed further when she took upon herself from 1952 to 1967 the colossal responsibility as Chairperson of the All India Handicrafts Board (AIHB).

3.3.2 School was another factor, which stimulated and provided outlet for her creative instincts when she was initiated into western music, eurythmic dance and dramatics. The indigenous and folk symbols like Yakshagana, Puppet shows, craft objects of exquisite workmanship germinated the seed of creativity in her mind and envolved her from her adolescence till maturity. Her biographer, Shakuntala Narasimhan depicts KC as, '...an intriguing combination of steely will and stubbornness, soft-hearted compassion and aesthetic sensibilities, a towering achiever who, however, had, officially, no 'position', office or rank.'(Narasimhan, 1999:ix)

3.3.3 KC inherited her independent spirit from her mother and grandmother. Girijabai's practice of holding discussions on political issues, women's issues, the philosophy of Ramkrishna paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Swami RamTheertha , the reading out of newspapers 'Kesari' and 'Sakal', to the women of neighbourhood besides reading out of literatures on low position of women , women's struggles gave KC valuable insights into these vital issues. Girijabai's keen interest in Indian affairs enabled KC to read highly charged literature on problems like the oppression of the Indigo farmers at Champaran and the call of Gandhiji for Satyagraha in 1919 after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

3.3.4 Girijabai closely monitored KC's education and gave her modern English education besides training her in Hindustani and Carnatic music, playing Sarangi when music was considered disreputable for the ladies of respectable families. Not only did Girijabai set up a 'Women's Association' but she evinced keen interest in women's education and women's issues. This association still continues to function after celebrating its 75th anniversary.

3.3.5 Girijabai was a polyglot and her readings created 'consciousness' and 'progressive mindset' in the ladies. The reading habit KC inherited was from her grandmother who was a voracious reader and owned a library . She told KC, 'books are lifelong friends and will stay with you in faith, teach you many truths, and enrich your mind.'(Chattopadhyay,1986 :16) Such maxims must have left an imprint on young KC's formative mind.

3.3.6 The independent and adventurous spirit KC inherited was from her grandmother who used to travel alone by bullock cart or on foot from Kashi to Rameshwaram. Likewise Girijabai's practice of going to pujas, bhajans and harikathas alone in night with a lantern in hand must have seeped into KC and made her a fearless person that she was. KC also inherited the notion and necessity for a woman to be economically independent. The discipline and self control were the aspects inculcated into KC by Girijabai and the nuns in her school. The seed of love for theatre sprouted in her in school, which made her to take long strides in the realm of theatre and performing

arts. The Mahila Sabha's outdoor activities and her exposure to performing arts in Kerala like Thyayyam 'which impressed her as an intellectual dramatic experience' evolved her cultural perspective.

3.3.7 Among other personalities who propelled her towards her multiple goals was Ramalingam, an old family friend, pioneering leader in co-operative field who had been organizing and running co-operatives. KC's association with Ramalingam, a father to KC after Anantaiah's death enlightened her about co-operation, which was later to grow into a huge plan. From him she learnt the two crucial prerequisites of Cooperatives ie Independence and Self-reliance. A supporter of women's education and freedom struggle, social reform leader, her maternal uncle, Nalle Narayan Rao made her the secretary and asked her to play hostess to great freedom fighters like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Srinivas Sastri, Justice Ranade, Tej Bahadur Sapru etc. Her interface with them exposed her to the contemporary social and political scenario of the colonised India.

3.3.8 Girijabai presented her to the Puranic women Gargi who challenged the learned sage Yagnavalka and Maitreyi, Yagnavalka's wife who demanded that he share his knowledge with her. Girijabai's heroines were contemporary women fighters like Pandita Ramabai who was from the same district and Girijabai wanted KC to emulate Ramabai to become a crusader like her.

3.3.9 Aghorenath Chattopadhyay, father of Sarojini Naidu, 'Pithaji' to KC, greatly supported her despite stern warnings from the Government to dissociate himself from her. Girijabai's conscious efforts to shape KC on the lines of great women like Annie Besant, Pandita Ramabai bore fruits as Indian society saw her evolved as an outstanding visionary and missionary.

3.3.10 Her attending of Gandhiji's Satyagraha Sabha at Bombay in 1919 was KC's first encounter with freedom movement. She sold copies of Gandhiji's banned book 'Hind Swaraj'. Like most of intelligentsia of her generation she took a plunge into the freedom movement by enlisting herself in Seva Dal in 1924.

3.3.11 Her Diploma Course in Sociology in 1921 at Bedford College, London University was aimed at equipping herself to be a social worker. The college principal Miss Tuke was amazed when KC undeteringly wore saree against her expectations in the most crime-ridden area in the city. The course was related to fieldwork in the East End of London where she was exposed to varied needs of the slum dwellers, destitutes and criminals.

3.3.12 She took a course in Trichur in Kerala in Eurythmics from Anne Orshalt a teacher of Eurythmics who had come to India through her Theosophical connection. Later KC visited Geneva and Scandinavian countries to evaluate the impact of Eurythmics on school children. The theosophists Annie Besant, Mrs. Cousins lauded Indian tradition, philosophy and denounced westernization which brought her closer to Swadeshi and prompted her to venture into the difficult terrain of social service. Mrs. Cousins wrote, 'Her clear, uncompromising brain has led her to solutions of problems which are ahead of the majority of the politicians in India today.' (Brijbhushan, 1976 :164)

3.3.13 Her rebellious streak showed itself when she enacted Mira Bai's role in Mangalore in Mrs Cousins's play against the wishes of Girijabai. Girijabai took 10 year old KC to Annie Besant for her blessings and wished that KC should one day become like Annie Besant.

3.3.14 Under Annie Besant's 'National Educational Movement' the National Girl's High School at Mangalore was headed by Mrs. Cousins. KC was inspired by Mrs. Cousins's sense of service and Annie Besant's oratory.

'It may not be incorrect to say that my public career really started seriously with my meeting with Mrs. Cousins, Greta as we called her.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :79) The neighbouring state Kerala enriched her culturally during her adolescence. In Kerala KC studied ancient Sanskrit drama tradition Kudiyaattam from Natyacharya, an authority of *Abhinaya* Padmashri Mani Madhava Chakyar by staying at Guru's home at Killikkurussimangalam. Her

keen interest in performing arts prompted Vallathol, Malayalee poet, to invite her to Kalamandalam, which is a centre for revival of Kathakali established by him.

3.3.15 On analyzing the various influencing factors, including people, institutions, KC's stay at Poona could be the most formative and significant phase in her evolution as a humanist and social activist. Her interactions with intellectuals and philanthropists like Pandita Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade, Maharshi Karve, Parvathibai Athawale, Premlila Thackersay kindled in her a spark towards socialist tendencies.

3.3.16 At Miraj hospital KC met Pandita Ramabai, the founder of 'The Arya Mahila Samaj', a woman activist and came to know of the plight of women with no legal rights. Her reading of Pandita's 'High Caste Hindu Women' and Ramabai Ranade's 'Some Memories of our Life' and her visits to Pandita's 'Sharada Sadan', her daughter Manorama's 'Kripa Sadan' and Ramabai Ranade's 'Seva Sadan' the Organizations genuinely concerned with young widows, deserted wives, destitutes, unwanted daughters-in-law confronting unthought-of challenges sensitized her about the gravity of women's disabilities.

KC endorses her perception of Pandita and Manorama, her daughter,

"In fact no woman had strode Indian scholastic stage like a colossus as did Pandita Ramabai. Nor was any other woman so highly elevated and honoured, at that time nor proved such an Iconoclast..." '...I was very impressed by organizing ability, their great feeling for the poor and the oppressed women for whose emancipation they had devoted their entire lives' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :40-41*).

3.3.17 KC and HC pursued common dreams, took up nationwide tours for theatre movement, produced plays and skits on social themes, organized group discussions, exhibitions, poetry reading sessions etc. They performed plays on historical, social and mythological themes. Their friend G.

Venkatachalam assisted them by playing small roles, and KC designed costumes, tie-dyed and stained the fabrics required for the characters in the plays for initiatives in the field of preservation of theatre properties.

3.3.18 Girijabai overtly instilled the social awareness, which shaped the social activist in her. She encouraged KC to learn more languages. Dr. Hardikar suggested to KC to record her experiences at the Belgaum Congress Session. She actively participated as a Seva Dal volunteer and continued writing as a follow up of the Seva Dal services she had done.

3.3.19 Her visit to Pondicherry to meet the spiritual revolutionary nationalist Aurobindo Ghosh 'who differed from most other Indian leaders except Gandhiji by laying persistent emphasis on self-development' as most basic to fashion, a perfect instrument to gain freedom.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :45*) was enlightening to her in a unique way.

3.3.20 Her entry into the Seva Dal in 1924 gave her a new insight of nationalism. She learnt that Seva Dal training was a litmus test of a person's physical, mental and psychological calibre.

'...Psychologically the struggle drags, offers no immediate satisfaction. This called for prolonged and sustained stamina, firm faith in the objective, which may not ever be realized in the volunteer's life...physical culture was equally important. Included in this were several indigenous exercises handed down through generations, such as lathi, danda, dagger play, Suryanamaskaras and various yogasanas... Having gone through preliminaries and the required training, I joined the Seva Dal, taking a solemn pledge that I would work as a Seva Dal volunteer wholeheartedly in the freedom struggle until my motherland became free... (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :77-78*).

3.3.21 In the context of Seva Dal in 1927, her creative initiative was the Dress Code of the Sevikas which had congress flag colour ie dark blue saris with border. Although individually it looked smart, enmass it looked

gloomy. At Madras congress session, when KC was incharge of Seva Dal Women's Wing she introduced the Orange colour and the corps acquired the name 'Orange Brigade'.

3.3.22 Her feminist perspective came into play with her meeting Mrs Cousins of 'The Theosophical Society.' When for the first time Indian woman was granted the right to vote in 1921, as a result of concerted efforts by Women's Indian Association (WIA), the Madras and Bombay Presidencies were the first ones to do so. In 1927, Madras State Provincial Legislature granted women the right to contest. Encouraged by this Mrs Cousins made KC to contest. It is would be worth mentioning here that KC was the first woman in India who dared to contest elections, at a time when franchise was based on property ownership. Mrs. Cousins arranged the lease of a land and KC was made eligible to contest for election, which of course she lost, by 55 votes. If examined closely it is recurringly obvious from her life that KC was trained to earn her place rather having it handed down which manifested her stance on reservations for women as separate category seeking refuge under gender label.

3.3.23 On her way back from London, KC visited Geneva, Prague, Berlin. At Berlin, 'The Moscow Art Theatre' was playing. Suhrawardy introduced her to European Painting. She realized the importance of preservation of Theatre properties and studied the Russian Theatre at Berlin and met Virendranath Chattopadhyay, political revolutionary who enlightened her of the ill effects of colonialism on Indian economy, and the Marxist ideology which was a causative factor for her Socialist Leanings. Her meeting with Agnes Smedley, an American journalist, of 'Friends of Freedom of India society', gave KC insights of Agnes Smedley's social endeavours in rehabilitating the refugees in China. Agnes had joined Madame Sun Yat Sen working with China League for Civil Rights in the war torn China. KC's political perspective was accentuated by the narratives sent by Agnes about the turmoils of war and the oppressions carried out in China in the context of war.

3.3.24 KC made a study of theatres of different Indian languages. As the Indian theatre had degenerated KC and HC together envisioned a theatre movement in India. Her long association with G.Venkatachalam, the Theosophist in Madras made on her the most fruitful impact in the domain of handicrafts. She acknowledges this positive influence in her autobiography and admits that he made her aware of subtler charms of handicrafts. Her long and stimulating tours with Venkatachalam were enriching and aesthetically satisfying. He not only sensitized her about art and craft but also assisted her by playing small roles in times of need in her plays besides organizing exhibitions of paintings.

3.3.25 Gandhiji's influence was so strong on her that it was visible in every field of her activity. Her role in the nation's history as a humanist, women's emancipator and Indian culture's curator who distanced herself from the power structures, is an ample testimony to her being a Gandhian to the core. In the context of democratic India her contribution in refugee rehabilitation and handicrafts movement was strictly in keeping with the Gandhian ideology of self-reliance and swadeshi. "But it was only after I met Gandhiji that I came to understand the deep relationship of handicrafts with our daily life". (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :67) Gandhiji's philosophy of need for use of hands being chief medium of creative expression and her own reading of ancient texts on crafts enabled KC to acquire the right perception about handicrafts.

3.3.26 Her meeting with Tagore at Bombay when he had come with his dance drama troupe brought her closer to theatre as an art and as a medium of spiritual enrichment.

'Theatre opened out my creative channels and at periods I was fully absorbed in a kind of an euphoria.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :71*) At Calcutta, her comment 'Calcutta to my theatre hungry soul was like a Mecca of my dreams.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :96*) accounts for her deep involvement in the art of theatre not only with regard to acting but for making and preserving theatre properties. Tagore believed that for the growing youth, the atmosphere of freedom and love surcharged with aesthetic symbols like drama dance, music

were essential ingredients and KC endorsed his perception of aesthetic sensitivity and its role in moulding the youth. Her two memorable moments at Shantiniketan were the award Deshikottama conferred on her for her contribution to the art world and the Vishwabharathi Convocation address delivered by her of which she was very proud.

3.3.27 She has been identified with the cultural revival of Indian arts and crafts and her perception of renaissance was holistic as she emphasizes, 'My concept of renaissance was however not romantic. To me it meant action leading to self-discovery, a realization one's potential in creativity, in resources, Knowledge, aptitude attuned to a new orientation to flow into the current stream. Its main characteristic had to be all inclusive to bring out the universal quality pregnant in the essence of India's basic message to humanity.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :71*)

3.3.28 She delivered her first public speech when she was 20. Srinivas Sastri asked her to speak at Mangalore by which she ventured into the art of oratory and she had a short stint in films but film acting did not fascinate her which she acknowledged as, 'Film acting failed to attract me while theatre filled me with passionate...' In an era when acting was considered disreputable for the ladies of respectable families she dared to act in films. In her first stint she acted in two silent films, including the first silent film of Kannada film industry.

3.3.29 When Congress Working Committee took over Hindustani Seva Dal, in 1931, Dr. Hardikar was made the men's incharge and KC women's incharge. Seva Dal gained power and popularity but some congressmen were suspicious of Seva Dal's independent nature. She responded positively to Sardar Vallabhai Patel's call in 1931 for a need for All India National Camp to train women instructors who in turn would train women in their own regions. She was assigned this huge project because she was an indomitable crusader and an equally dedicated social servant. For this colossal assignment KC selected Sophia Somji, an adventurous Bombay girl Satyagrahee and took

a whirlwind tour of India to select women recruits between 16 and 45 for the training camp. The camp got underway at Borivili in Bombay, which incorporated outdoor exercises and physical training.

3.3.30 But the failure of Round Table Conferences led to lawlessness which was created due to several unjust ordinances. A blanket ban was imposed on NGOs, Seva Dal and KC arrested under Vagrants' Act, sentenced for 18 months imprisonment and was lodged in 'C' class prison, Arthur Road, Women's quarters, crowded with ordinary criminals where her inmate was Perin Captain,² a young revolutionary. A memorandum of grievances drafted by KC was submitted to Prison Visitors' Committee. This act of hers led to her shifting to another barrack where she shared a good time with Mirabehn. Thereafter, she was warned for fanning revolt and again shifted to Hindalga Women's jail, Belgaum where severe winter affected her causing acute Jaundice leading to deterioration of her health. Kamakoti,³ pressed for better medical attention as there was complete absence of elementary clinic for inmates. Prompted by the need for basic medical assistance for jail inmates, she set up a hospital in the prison premises. Mridula Sarabhai assured donation of expensive items for her makeshift hospital.

3.4 Negative Influences

Negative influences of her childhood made her aware of the orthodoxy, the patriarchal set up besides her personal experiences of divorce helped her to evolve her own responses and initiatives to confront and negotiate such issues with a right approach. Besides the events after 1947 like, the partition, the power mongering in the congress party circles, the hurdles due to red tapism caused in the context of her Cooperative exercise and refugee rehabilitation, the complacency prevailing in the Indians after 1947 India and women in particular, the distorted perception of secularism, the absence of uniform laws to Indian women irrespective of religion were all causative influences which caused her to abstain from participating in the affairs of the country.

3.4.1 KC's life was so inseparably interspersed with positive and negatives influences, that they together moulded her thinking. Anantaiah's death in 1910 when KC was 7, was an event which totally turned the course of lives of both Girijabai and KC. KC seemed to wake up to the bitter reality that neither wife nor daughter could inherit Anantaiah's property after his death. As Anantaiah prepared no Will the whole property went to his stepson. Consequently, KC's conviction deepened to fight for women's rights and discriminatory laws against women. Girijabai rented a house in Madras after KC's widowhood and raised her daughters on her dowry property. Girijabai's determination to fight against social injustice against women took a backseat and the financial insecurity in the family led to KC's marriage at the age of 14 to Nyampalli Krishna Rao⁴, the grandson of Kudmul Ranga Rao. KC's child marriage reflects Indian woman's disabilities if not the highly rigid convention-ridden society of 20th century, in the case of Girijabai and KC.

"The question was not one of possessions but of principles ... so it seemed to me then, not only my own burden but a share also of the burdens of millions of other women like me". (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :25*)

3.4.2 KC encountered in her family the widowhood of her aunt who had to undergo ugly disfigurement of getting her head shaved as was the custom for a widow besides the word, 'you son of a widow', was used as an abusive term of withering contempt.

3.4.3 Unlike her mother, KC questioned the aristocratic division of her mother's household and violated the norms by mingling freely with servants' children much to her mother's displeasure and states in her autobiography,

'The caste distractions bothered me equally. Those lower down the social rung had their own culture, rituals and way of life. Why were some termed depressed classes? Too many questions confronted my inquiring mind ... All this however only goaded me to resolve I should take them on some day as a life mission.'
(*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :25*)

Her witnessing of the death of her two elder sisters due to their husbands' oppression must have influenced her negatively and which must have strengthened her resolve to liberate Indian woman from the age-old shackles of exploitation. The sisters who died were, the stepsister Amba and natural sister Laxmi after giving birth to two children. She noticed in school the segregation of the daughters of women of 'oldest profession', a socio-literary term for prostitutes, which undoubtedly must have sensitized her towards the downtrodden.

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3.4.4 Her encounters with the poorest women from remote villages of Uttara Kannada district mostly from Sirsi, Siddapur, Ankola and her conversation with them in Kannada, about No-Tax campaign of 1932, in her home province while she was in Hindalga Women's Jail in Belgaum, which was a full scale of Satyagraha reminiscent of Bardoli movement, awakened her to the tattering poverty of the farming community in the region. This lesser known unique movement in Karnataka was led by 'Sardar'⁵ Venkataramaiah of the Seva Dal, who headed Seva Dal Training Academy in Bagalkot. Uttara Kannada reacted strongly to ecological imbalances in its environment caused by deforestation. The farmers took cue from the wellknown Chipko Movement and the Farmers' agitation culminated in the 'Appiko Movement'.

3.4.5 Her visit to Wardha to meet Gandhiji on being called by him and at Wardha (Nanda,2002 :64) station waiting for train to Madras, her meeting with Kaleshwar Rao, a Congress worker, landed her in jail. On being asked by him KC broke journey at Vijayawada and was arrested on the charge, of 'attempt to create disaffection and break the peace'. She was asked to sign a bond for good behaviour which she refused to do. As the place came under the jurisdiction of Madras presidency. She was sentenced to for 1 year, lodged in Women's Jail in 1934 in Vellore. It was a rigorous punishment where she was kept in solitary confinement. Her health deteriorated due to severe heat and was released on medical grounds on being found unconscious with no medical attention and care.

3.4.6 Her decision to divorce was taken when she was serving the jail term at the Vellore jail. This conscious decision was well thought of and was an exercise to break the unwanted relationship and was executed not as a feminist action from the perspective of western feminism. Nevertheless, it demonstrated her determination to answer back fittingly to injustice. KC spent 5 years in 6 different prisons.

3.5 Translating: Vision into Reality/Mission into Action

In this section I state the tasks and endeavours undertaken by KC who was consistently driven by a deep sense spirit which was at all times aimed at nation building. The expeditiousness exhibited by her in dealing with the issues seemingly betrayed paucity of time on her part to accomplish the unfinished tasks. Despite my attempt to place the events chronologically, her multi-level involvement in the tasks on simultaneous basis defies (constraint) the chronological arrangement.

3.5.1 In her Presidential address KC upheld productive potential woman in economic and social terms as ‘...The human value of a housewife in economic and social terms...she was entitled to an equal status with the husband.’ KC’s contribution in women’s movement should be viewed in the backdrop of her experiences, which prompted suitable responses from her to various women’s issues. After being elected in 1927 as the first Organising Secretary of All India Women’s Conference (AIWC) in Pune, she undertook continuous propaganda tours as its Secretary for 3 terms, Vice-president and President regarding social and legal changes for women’s rights. AIWC is a powerful pressure group both at central and state levels with branches in all the major cities which is engaged in voluntary social work with a purpose to educate women who are classified as one of the most backward classes in India. She stayed in Delhi for the first half of 1928 to organize the Second Women’s Educational Conference and to lobby for Hari Singh Gour’s Age of Consent Bill and Harbilas Sarda’s Child Marriage Restraint Bill to be passed in the central Assembly. At this point in time violent demonstrations against Simon Commission were being held in Delhi and consequently Lady Irwin

refused to inaugurate the annual session of the AIWC. KC was also a witness to the Central Assembly bomb explosion episode by Bhagat Singh.

At the 3rd Educational Women's Conference in Patna in January 1929, she declared that there was a need for a widespread women's movement to give women their rightful place and status in society. She along with Hilla Fardoonji moved a resolution for widening the scope of the conference from purely educational to all problems connected with women.

3.5.2 In 1930 Gandhiji gave a call for Salt Satyagraha and her focus shifted to freedom struggle and she resigned secretaryship of AIWC. KC was just around 20 when she worked in AIWC with ladies most of whom were veterans like Huide Kuper, Hilla Faridoonji, Begam Sheriff Hamid Ali, Dr Muthulakshmi Reddy, Rameshwari Nehru, Anasuyabai Kale, Saraladevi Sarabhai, Mridula Sarabhai, Renuka Roy, Raksha Saran, Dr Maitreyi Bose, Mithan Lam, Sharadaben Mehta and Phulavati Shukla.

3.5.3 She spoke of her Feminist perspective as being inclusive, 'It never took on what in western phraseology is called a *Feminist role* in the narrow sense. As time went on I realized we would have to move and function within a wider parameter. The demand for national freedom had already been sounded as basic for our national well being. There upon followed the demand for equal opportunities for all, as obviously women were not the only victims of social and economic disabilities and discriminations, others were equally oppressed socially, and depressed economically. It was dimly growing on me that the women's struggle had therefore to be an indivisible part of the larger political, social and economic struggle.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :85)

3.5.4 At Pune, KC closely associated with 'Servants of India Society' members like G.K. Deodhar, the Champion of women's rights and active in co operative movement, Srinivas Sastri, Kodanda Rao, Venkataraman, a pioneer in handicrafts in the tribal belt of Nilgiris. 'The Deccan Education Society' started by G.K. Gokhale too had luminaries like Shakuntala Paranjape and Irrawathy with whom KC was closely associated.

3.5.5 Her association with Verrier Elwin, an English missionary who played a strategic role in the emergence of the Tribal World of India was fruitful in the context of cultural revival in the northeastern states of India.

3.5.6 In the realm of upliftment of women and children KC's initiatives were channellised through AIWC which opened a children's Charter and stressed on traditional indigenous foods, Family Planning, promotion of cultural expressions and conducted surveys. KC proposed that veteran workers be elected to high offices of AIWC and consequently, Sarojini Naidu was elected as its President. KC took up various issues for nation wide campaigning for Family Planning, promotion of cultural expressions like folk dances, music, indigenous dramatic forms, social and moral hygiene, problems of women labourers etc.

3.5.7 Shri Venkataraman of 'Servants of India Society', persuaded KC to take up Secretaryship of 'Indian Social Reforms Conference' (ISRC) whose President was K. Natarajan, the editor of a socialist magazine 'Indian Social Reformer'. KC combined the programmes of AIWC and ISRC giving larger dimension and deeper significance to her activities. In the latter part of 1929, KC took up a foreign trip to attend International Conferences and to make a study of much talked about innovative technique in teaching ie New Education Movement.

3.5.8 Her active participation and fruitful interactions during 'International Alliance of Women' in Berlin, 'New Education Movement' in Copenhagen, 'International League for Peace and Freedom' in Prague, 'International Session for League against Imperialism', in Frankfurt sensitized her about coercive practices like imperialism, feudalism and militarism. Her brief and fruitful interface with Jane Adams via a Social welfare and community service activist and Miss Molly Carroll via an American social worker gave her rare insights about world affairs the need for peace and the need to serve humanity.

3.5.9 Her visit to Experimental Schools in Berlin and Scandinavian Countries displayed her keen interest in education and her sense of

inquisitiveness. After her return to India, KC arranged exhibitions of performing arts, crafts and innovative kitchen gadgets to unburden the Indian housewife of drudgery, which is indicative of her, deep concern for womenfolk. After her foreign tour experience she proposed to start Home Science Institutes for Indian women. Lady Irwin showed great interest and Lady Irwin Institute of Home science was started in Delhi in 1932 with 11 students.

3.5.10 KC 's deep conviction in the vigour and vitality of youth power is evident when she plunged into Youth Movement spearheaded by Yusuf Meherally when she was asked to preside over Youth Congress session at Ahmedabad on 14 December 1929. KC presided over the session and there was a demand for 'Poorna Swaraj'. KC asked the youth through her fiery speech to fight social evils, oppression against women and plunge into direct action. On 26 January 30 'Poorna Swaraj Day' was celebrated by hoisting the flag at Azad Maidan at Bombay and a pledge was taken for complete independence. During flag hoisting when there was an attempt by someone to disrespect it, she saved the honour of the flag and in doing so, bruised her hand. Consequently, at the Congress Working Committee meeting at Ahmedabad it was resolved to fight for Poorna Swaraj.

3.5.11 KC participated in Salt Satyagraha which was scheduled to coincide with the annual observance of Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. Gandhiji's Constructive Programme which stressed the use of Swadeshi Khadi , communal harmony, Abolition of Untouchability reaffirmed her faith in indigeniousness. She rushed to Jambusar where Gandhiji was in his Dandi March and convinced him to permit women to join the Satyagraha. She was one of the Front line Unit of 7 members in Bombay, which participated in the Salt Satyagraha, and K.F. Nariman was its leader. This First batch of lawbreakers had only two women and they were KC and Avantikabai Gokhale. KC sold salt at the Bombay Stock Exchange, High Court, cotton, cloth and grain markets. She planned a raid on Wadala Salt Pans but was arrested on 17 May 1930 (Nanda, 2002 :52) and sentenced to 1 year simple imprisonment

and lodged in Yarawada Women's prison where she stayed as a 'B' class prisoner and was with Sarojini Naidu her, sister-in-law.

3.5.12 Nalinakshi Sanyal, an active youth worker from Bengal along with a few others had drafted the Fundamental Rights Resolution of the Congress and KC had helped draft it. She as a AIWC member was asked to hand it over to Nehru which was to be further discussed with Gandhiji. Her other Resolution was about Bhagat Singh which she had prepared after a deep study of Bhagat Singh being alleged a terrorist. But KC had to withdraw her resolution about Bhagat Singh in the Karachi session in 1931.

3.5.13 As she was actively involved in youth activities she received an invitation from Sri Lanka Youth Congress. Frustrated by the failure of Round Table Conference, the Youth League gave warnings, which angered Sardar Vallabhai Patel, and he condemned the youth as utterly irresponsible. To this KC retorted to Patel's remarks in the Press in scathing terms, which shocked even Gandhiji. Her forthrightness demonstrated itself recurringly when she did not hesitate to criticise even those people who held high positions

3.5.14 KC met Dewan Chamanlal, while lobbying for Congress Swaraj Party who initiated her into the arena of Trade Unionism. Consequently she attended the All India Trade Union Congress held in Jharia, Bihar and in the year 1933 KC was involved in Trade Unions, Labours' and Workers' Unions, Women workers' wage parity issues, Maternity benefits for women, peasants' meetings, Kisan Sabhas besides her Socialist Party endeavours. KC organized in Mangalore labours' and peasants' Unions and workers' Unions. The women labourers in Cashew nut and coffee curing had been bruising their fingers for not being provided with knives. A strike was called by KC to provide extra sharp knives and it was a great success. 'This was my first taste of conducting a labour strike and proved quite an experience, we had however resounding victory.' In 1933 she participated in the first of the many Kisan marches in Andhra Pradesh organized by N.G.Ranga, the Kisan leader and on Ranga's request in October 1935,(Nanda,2002 :74) she inaugurated

the All India Peasants' and Workers' Conference. In December 1935(Nanda,2002 :75) she established the Mangalore District Committee. During the same time she toured Bellary,(Nanda,2002 :77) Bagalkot, Belgaum, Hubli to consolidate the Socialist Party. In February 1937(Nanda,2002 :85) she undertook an election tour of Karnataka with Nehru. KC's speech in Gadag in June 1946 (Nanda,2002 :99) at the Socialist Conference reveals that the Quit India and other movements made a tremendous morale boosting impact on her contemporaries.

KC in association with J.C. Kumarappa, Head of All India Kisan Sabha Conference (AIKSC) attended the First Sabha in 1936, which was attended by 20,000 peasants.

3.5.15 When KC was in Vellore Jail in late 1933 the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed in the prison cells at Nasik by Jayaprakash Narayan, Minoo Masani, Yusuf Meharally, Acharya Narendra Dev, and Purushottam Tricum Das. Gandhi welcomed the party within congress.

3.5.16 She felt that there was a common ground between Gandhij's and CSP's objectives. In 1938, Jayprakash Narayan supported the peasants but the congress did not, which led to JP's resignation from Congress Working Committee. Gandhiji believed that no constructive worker remained active in politics and true to his belief KC remained away from power politics for 4 decades after 1947.

3.5.17 KC toured Srilanka on invitation during Bandarabaike's time through the Women's organization for handicrafts. KC and Ram ventured to trek to Kashmir to Kolhai Glacier. Nariman persuaded KC to visit Peshawar. Khan Saheb, the Chief Minister of North West Frontier Province arranged the trip to Khyber Pass; met Afridis visited Jamrud and Taxila.

3.5.18 KC undertook tours for political and other purposes but her entry was banned into the princely states of Mysore and Travancore . In view of the above in October 1937 (Nanda,2002 :86) in the AICC session she

tabled a strong resolution protesting against the various restrictive and prohibitory orders in Travancore and Mysore state. It asked the people of British India to give the people of Mysore support and encouragement in their legitimate and non-violent struggle for the right of self-determination. Until then Gandhi's stand had been one of non-interference in the Princely states. As fallout of this during a Mysore congress party meeting at Vidurashwatha in April 1938(Nanda,2002 :87) which coincided with a local fair the police opened fire killing 30 innocent people which received widespread condemnation. Consequently, the Dewan was forced to recognize the congress party and allow restricted hoisting of National flag. The Congress Socialist Party claimed credit for wresting limited political rights for the people of Mysore state, to which KC had contributed in her own way. Similarly,

when she was invited by State Youth conference in Travancore she was arrested at Trivandrum Railway Station and let off. In the context of Travancore, in August 1938 when KC being invited to inaugurate the Travancore Youth Conference, she made an entry defying the ban order. After a couple of days as the ' guest of the Dewan' she was put on a train back to Madras. This incident made Gandhiji to reverse his policy about of non-interference in the princely states.

3.5.19 Gandhi felt that Subhas Chandra Bose would act irresponsibly as was the case with KC. She was sad about Subhas Chandra Bose's phasing out of Congress Presidentship.

3.5.20 On JP's suggestion, all those with Marxist ideology were admitted into CSP. KC on this count disagreed with JP.This happened in 1936, when she was chairing the session of the Socialist Party Conference at Meerut and she felt that it was a fatal decision to admit communists into CSP. She felt that expulsion of key communists would resolve the crisis of disruption of the party. Minoo Masani, Yusuf Meharally, Ram Manohar Lohia resigned from party executive demanding dissolution of the so-called United Front.The communists revealed their true colours and the party broke up. The inevitable

step of breaking away from Congress was taken after 1947 because the Congress or the ruling party did not have the same commitments as the CSP. But CSP lacked the core, the stamina, and the structure to become a well-equipped opposition.

‘CSP’s boycott of constituent Assembly was a dismal failure and socialist’s humiliating defeat in 1952 elections.’ KC’s connection with CSP ended in 1948.

3.5.21 After Tripura Congress when the 2nd World War was on, KC took a trip abroad (1939-1941) for Ram’s studies for a course in Communication Engineering. Taking advantage of the trip, AIWC asked KC to represent India at the ‘International Session of Alliance of Women’, at Copenhagen. Before going to Denmark, KC took advantage of the invitations and visited Egypt, Turkey, England and Germany and met eminent personalities and state Heads.

3.5.22 In International Women’s Conference Madame Charaoui Pasha of Egypt and KC walked out of the conference in frustration because Nazism was treated as internal matter of the ruling country. KC sent a strongly worded directive to the Indian counterpart to disaffiliate itself from the International Body.

3.5.23 During this trip to England, KC visited Dartington Hall of Elmhursts, a centre for progressive education, arts and crafts. The renowned dancer Uday Shanker had told Elmhursts of KC. Leonard Elmhurst’s years with Tagore in rural development in Sriniketan was a testimony to his keen interest in the community life and cultural heritage of India. Co-operatives in Sweden were of Special interest of study to her for their organizational aspect.

3.5.24 US Consulate declined Visa to her and a transit visa for 3 months was arranged. In USA, KC plunged into round the clock programmes. Her mission was to form a favourable opinion about India’s freedom struggle in

the western community. Various bodies through their organizational heads invited KC in the USA.. Organisations like, League of Women's voters, Civil Liberties Union, League for peace and Freedom called her to deliver talks on various social and political issues. 'The New Deal' initiated under President Roosevelt was a much debated subject and interested KC. She also visited Institutes of Home Science which the Americans called 'Home Economics'.

She had the privilege of being invited by Mr & Mrs Roosevelt for tea. She also interacted with labour Unions at San Francisco and visited famous 'Sing Sing Prison'. It was the Women's Section of the prison that she first visited. KC met Margaret Sanger, Mother of Family Planning, who inaugurated Family Planning Association of India. Her visit to New Mexico made her aware that there was similarity between their tribal dance, crafts and that of Indian tribals. She met Anand Coomarswamy at Boston Museum, the renowned scholar of Indian art and had interesting discussions with him.

Anti-colonialists invited Harry Bridges, Secretary, Civil Liberties Union, and another guest Mr. Duff Cooper, British Foreign Secretary, addressed the meeting. When asked to speak KC painted a true picture of Colonial India. When asked to respond to her comments, the Secretary slipped away unnoticed. KC met Hu Shih, Chinese ambassador and was privileged to be invited by noted physicist Robert Oppenheimer, who was greatly interested in Indian Philosophy. KC wished to visit Chungking and contacted Hu Shih to arrange the visit. Chungking was ruined due to war bombings. After being invited by Generalissimo and Mrs. Chiang-Kai-Shek, she halted a short while at Honolulu and flew out of American continent. She found similarity between Hawaiian dance and Indian Bharatanatyam.

3.5.25 In Japan KC was amazed at the Japanese skill and their utter devotion to art. There still existed Guru Shishya pattern of imparting knowledge. Through renowned artist Ogata Kenzen KC was introduced to several complexities of different aspects of handicrafts. Dr Soyetsu Yagangi was the founder of the 'Japanese Craft Society' and was Director of 'National Craft Museum'. KC interacted with the noted potter Shafi Hamada and was

pleased to learn that Japanese artists were highly honoured and meritorious and titled as 'National Treasure.' When KC was asked by Japan to forego the tour to China KC declined and instead went to KC Shanghai where there was Chiang-Kai Shek regime. Chiang-Kai Shek also called Generalissimo was concerned with countering communists rather than combating Japanese. KC decided to visit Nanking, seat of Wang Ching Wei's regime.

3.5.26 KC arrived in Nanking, the city of the Great Wall of China also called Ghost City. Sun-Yat-Sen considered as 'Father of the Chinese people.' KC took a boat to Honkong and was allowed to stay in Hongkong hotel but disallowed to leave. Madame Sun Yat Sen was in Hongkong helping the Chinese refugees. Her brother Dr. Soong, an influential businessman in Hongkong, worked out a compromise and helped till Chungking could be contacted. The Chinese Government was contacted and thereafter the British ambassador in Chungking. KC was the guest of Generalissimo and Madame Chingling. Mr Soong and his sister Soong Chingling arranged a transit for KC in Chungking, a world famed war torn Capital.

3.5.27 KC was surprised as well as happy to see that the forces of reconstruction and life there went on inspite of raids. "I met Ravi Alley to learn of 'Induscos', the minister for war, who described the grave situation. Although destroyed to the extent of 80% China hit on industrialization through small co operatives through cooperative movement. There the cooperative Units were called 'Induscos'. Ravi Alley, a Newzealander missionary was successfully operating with 3000 working co operatives employing 50,000 workers trained in principles and techniques of Co operatives. T.V. Soong, finance Minister was the person who was behind the Induscos. KC visited the Chungking University, a centre of learning functioning to its capacity. Madame Chiang offered an envelope to KC which she donated to an Orphanage in Chungking. KC observed that the Chinese women were making allout efforts to reconstruct China. Their role in defence and reconstruction was outstandingly remarkable. She noticed that amidst ruin and destruction

cultural expressions, art and literary forms were being encouraged. KC met Chau-en-lai and Mrs. Sun Yat Sen took charge of KC's program.

3.5.28 While on her way back KC encountered the Governor of Hongkong on boat. On Scotland Yard's communication he stopped KC. KC arrived in Manila, Philippines and saw the old Filipino crafts. Her next destination was Singapore where she had a prohibitory order. She could not alight in the wake of a prohibitory order in Sri Lanka too. From Colombo she reached Bombay.

3.5.29 Immediately after her return she got a call from Sardar Vallabhai Patel to meet Gandhiji. KC visited and was told to use her good offices with K. Rajagopalachari to reconcile JP to give up his hunger strike which he had undertaken in Deoli prison in Rajasthan on account of inhuman conditions prevailing in the prison. About 200 prison inmates were involved in the strike. The strike was in its third week and JP was in solitary confinement.

JP then dramatically escaped from Hazaribagh prison and was rearrested. KC recollects in her autobiography that her first meeting with Rajaji was during a marriage where he had played groom's father as the groom was a non-brahmin and the bride was a Brahmin by name Radha who was the daughter of Kudmul Ranga Rao who championed the cause of the dalits in Mangalore long before Gandhiji initiated his movement against Untouchability. When asked by Rajaji what she would like to be after she grew up, KC had replied that she would fight for the women's cause.

3.5.30 KC was called by Patel to smoothen out the strain between Congress and the Socialists. KC then envisioned purposeful training for women through AIWC in community service, national service and skills of leadership. As Seva Dal was banned women needed to be kept on their toes. The training began in February 1942 in Abrama village in Gujarat. Mridula Sarabhai and KC trained women from all communities including tribals in traditional crafts, aesthetics through music, dance, drama and handicrafts. This Camp to develop women as human resource had to be closed after months

because India was preparing herself for 'Quit India' Movement and Japan was at India's doorstep.

3.5.31 Two days before the launching of the Quit India Movement ie on 6th August KC is supposed to have addressed the important student bodies of Bombay Students' Union as per a CID Report. Mysore was the only princely state seriously affected by 1942 rebellion which can be attributed to KC's endeavours. KC was in Bangalore on 8th August 1942 and had prepared the ground for agitations over the years in her home state. She was arrested and transferred from Bangalore central jail to Vellore jail. The summer was unbearable and her health deteriorated. In 1944 summer she was released on medical grounds. On her way from Vellore at Katpadi station she received a message that her close associate and guide Mrs Cousins was seriously ill. She proceeded to Bombay where a prohibitory order was imposed on KC's entry by the Bombay police. KC had to inaugurate AIWC session there and she slipped into Bombay. She phoned to the Home Secretary HVR Iyengar to inform that she had broken the order. KC was sad that AIWC was politicized but multifarious activities were being planned and carried out by AIWC. She attempted to reorganize and strengthen the Socialist party. The Red Fort Trial on the INA heroes drew worldwide attention. KC started a Kannada weekly "Jagriti", a party organ for purposeful Socialist education

3.5.32 By this time KC had decided not to continue either in the Socialist or the congress party. In her view, Socialist Party's negative policy of not collaborating in the crucial constitution making process was a suicidal lapse. The Socialist Party was in the grip of Marxism. Nehru invited KC to join CWC but KC expressed her unwillingness. JP convinced KC and Lohia to join CWC as representatives of CSP. KC recollected that about 10 years ago Gandhi had objected to KC's inclusion in the CWC. Over the issue of partition of India in early 1947, CSP dropped 'Congress' and just called itself 'Socialist.'

KC felt that the decision of the Socialist Party to boycott Constituent Assembly was a negative step. When KC inquired Gandhi why he had agreed

for India's partition, his reply to KC's question was, "It is too late, if it had been ten years earlier. You see my colleagues, came to me when they were still in their prime of life, giving up their bright careers, plunging into an unknown destiny." Socialists opposed partition, when the partition proposition was put to vote Gandhiji appealed to Socialists not to object for partition. KC raised her hand in opposition, with that she broke her link with active politics. After partition the fire of communal riots engulfed India.

3.5.33 KC's view of secularism, "Secularism was one of the Concepts we wanted to wear more as a jewel on our chest with conscious pride rather than practice as an article of faith." (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :306*) Communal conflicts were on the increase as a fallout of partition. In this hour dire need KC decided to rehabilitate some of those uprooted families by applying the co-operative path. She prepared a blue print of her project and showed it to Gandhiji. Her plan was to have a co-operative body and form several co-operatives. The bureaucratic resistance or 'red tapism' seriously hampered the handicrafts ICU work. She succeeded in registering the body as 'Indian Co operative Union', (ICU). Gandhiji assured her conditional help, ' I shall help and identify myself with the venture. But on one condition " You and the co operative farmers rely on your own earnest labour, and not lean on the administration. For as you know the first principle of co operation is self-reliance" (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :307*)

3.5.34 ICU's framework was unacceptable to Delhi State Cooperative Department (DSCD), as it was independently set-up. The communal upheavals rocked the nation besides the internal political conflicts. Gandhiji was aware of KC's forthrightness which attimes offended people besides her sense of being too self-conscious which he expresses in his comment, "The trouble with you perhaps is you cannot forget, you are Kamaladevi, extra-sensitive 'Yes' I was too self-conscious'...." (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :309*)

3.5.35 After Gandhiji's assassination KC took upon herself Gandhiji's unfinished task and endeavored to complete it. The Govt's Relief and Rehabilitation Secretariat was at loggerheads with ICU. A rehabilitation camp

was established at Chattarpur, 12 miles from Delhi. Ramachandra Rao was her assistant in Co operative path. The farmers from Punjab made the Chattarpur project a success and it was a many faceted community progress.

3.5.36 KC attempts in theatre properties led up to a National Theatre Crafts Museum, (NTCM), and The Central Cottage Industries Emporium, (CCIE), and a special flower shop set up, Mallika. The Industrial Co operatives too were organized to help the refugees to stand on own legs. The skilled craftsmen enjoyed several facilities like the retail Sale by ICU itself. Refugee Crafts Centre ran under loss and on Nehru's suggestion it was taken over by CCIE.

3.5.37 KC instituted National Awards for 'neglected craftsman'. She heard that 14 miles away hundreds of families of North West Frontier's hardy pathans were in a pathetic state. KC met Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India. He set up special Board Faridabad Development Board (FDB). The refugees were traders, moneylenders; contractors who never did any constructive work but the womenfolk took the initiative and broke the deadlock. Faridabad Township with transport, service, schools, health centers, shops came up. Later on both Faridabad and CCIE were deflowered Faridabad made a big industrial area and the character of self-help was destroyed. The Emporium was also stripped of its independent character. KC went to Kashmir, which was raided in the war, and she visited war fronts. She was disheartened at the plight of Kashmiri craftsmen and she brought a proposal before ICU set up a co-operative working centre. It was set up in Srinagar.

3.5.38 The issue of abduction of young women into Pakistan was to be dealt with for which Rameshwari Nehru in-charge of Rehabilitation of women, KC and Mridula Sarabhai⁸ were deputed to negotiate with Lahore.

3.5.39 As a visionary and Gandhian she reaffirmed that the revolution started by Gandhi had not reached its culmination. She hoped that JP would take over the mantle of Gandhi and lead the nation to an India of Gandhi's vision. She got a last call from him in 1977 and KC visualized a logical end to the 'unfinished revolution', which for KC did not materialize.

‘It was for him (JP) and the country a grand opportunity to initiate an upsurge what he called the ‘Total but I prefer to designate ‘The Unfinished Revolution’. There were only two women members in the Socialist Party executive KC and Satyawati.

3.5.40 The Minister for Education in Nehru’s cabinet Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, asked KC to take up responsibility of three Academies which he proposed to start.

“The Akademies of dance, drama and music will be the first to be setup. Because of your active interest in them, I wish to share my thoughts with you...I would like you to serve on the Executive Board of this Akademi and give all the help you can. I know it is something dear to your heart. This is a new venture and I seek your cooperation.” She was also asked to be a member of the Indian delegation to the UNESCO Assembly Session at Beirut.

3.5.41 To Arab League’s General Secretary Azzam Pasha’s representative’s query, why she declined the offers to hold high offices, KC’s reply was ‘....I am by vocation and training a social service worker and I mean to remain so. Arts, crafts are my grammar, the medium through which to express myself. Politics as a career does not mingle with my blood stream.’ (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :343-344*)

KC was not interested in UNESCO gathering as it seemed dysfunctional to her. She commenced her tour of Arab countries Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem, Bethlem, Amman and flew back to India after meeting dignitaries and Heads of States.

3.5.42 KC Visited Kashmir Valley and requested Maj. Gen. Thimmayya, Commander-in-Charge, to arrange it. KC selected the Gurois area in Ladakh. KC accepted invitation for International gathering of the countries to be held at Rome. KC asked by Indian embassy to visit Vatican next morning and she met the Pope and discussed world peace with him.

KC met Professor Giuseppe Tucci (Italian) a Tibetan archaeologist and in Ethiopia, the King of Ethiopia who received her as their valued guest. It was the only non colonized country in Africa. She visited the graves of Indian soldiers who had died in the 2nd World War. The cities she visited were Adis Ababa, Asmara, Keran, Agordat. On return she met the 'Shiftas' who were mercenary soldiers Sudan border who were infact patriots. The local community greeted her. Nehru offered KC to represent India on Human Rights Commission (HRC). Her stay at Geneva lasted only for 3 months. Although there were agonizing problems the HRC's redressal was zero. She spent some time in Europe, studied old Cathedrals, new theatres, visited Turkey for the first time. Ankara's ancient Hittite Empire (2000 to 1200 BC) fascinated her. She was amazed to see small items of Utility and beauty, which were reminiscent of Mohenjodaro. KC informed Indian Government, she did not wish to continue on HRC. She returned to India. She also visited Ireland.

3.5.43 After independence, Nehru promised to replace the old order and Governmental set up as the administrative machinery or bureaucracy was rust-ridden. She opined that dynamism, innovation, originality in the political movement had flowed from Gandhiji. In 1949, Nehru declared to keep India within the Commonwealth as against his previous stance. When Socialists opposed this move he called the socialists as a bunch of reactionaries. Enraged by this comment of Nehru KC drafted a strong worded reply to this attack in the form of a booklet with a picture of a bunch of grapes and sent it to Nehru. M.O. Mathai, PM's Special Assistant asked whether that was meant to be sent the Prime minister. Such was her forthrightness.

3.5.44 KC was displeased with the resumption of the practice of conferring of titles banned previously and was also strongly opposed to creation of states in India on a linguistic lines. In her view it fostered the idea separatism in a country striving to come to terms with its diverse culture. For KC politics meant, 'politics did not come to me as a vocation or a career, it came to me as a great cause, the means to an end, to able to have the

opportunity and the facility to formulate a changed sense of values which can lead to a different social pattern.'

3.5.45 KC wrote on 6th August 1988 to Ramakrishna Hegde, the then Chief minister of Karnataka that he had promised 10 acres of land for the construction of a building for Indian Institute of Consumer Studies of which she was the Managing Trustee. She wrote several letters to the Government and stayed in Bangalore from 10th to 19th August to follow up the matter. But despite her best efforts the proposed Institute did not come up. Nevertheless it showed her keen concern about consumers' rights besides, her initiatives in the field Consumer Protection were indicative of her forethought about consumers' concerns.

3.5.46 She founded the Bharatiya Natya Sangha(BNS) in 1949 which has two hundred affiliated colleges which subsequently became affiliated to UNESCO and under the aegis of BNS in 1964 she started the Natya Institute of Kathak and Choreography (NIKC). Presently, the Director of NIKC is the famous danseuse Smt Maya Rao. KC was elected as Vice-President of the World Crafts Council founded in 1964 in Newyork. She was instrumental in instituting National Awards to the 'neglected craftspersons.' She was elected Vice-Chairman of the newly formed Sangeet Natak Akademi (SNA) and founded the Crafts Council of India (CCI), a non-governmental organization. She set up National School of Drama (NSD) against opposition for her abiding interest in theatre. She was keenly interested in documenting various performing arts and the world of performing arts owes deeply to this service of hers. KC documented for the archives rich folk ritualistic drama forms, prevailing in DK district. She as Chairman traveled to nook and corner of India and discussed with craftsmen.

3.5.47 Khadri Shamanna, the then editor of Kannada Prabha wrote in the editorial column of 2nd November 1988 that KC aimed to establish a body Journalism which was named as 'Karnataka Newspaper and Publications'and she had launched a socialist Kannada newspaper 'Jagriti' and ran it for six months. The eminent Cartoonist R.K. Laxman contributed

cartoons to it. She was endowed with a keen observation, quick perception, fine sensibility and an intuitive insight, which go into making a good writer.

3.5.48 Presently World Crafts Council gives away two awards in her memory, 'The Kamaladevi Awards' and the 'Kamala Sammaan', for exceptional crafts persons or to individual, for their outstanding contribution to the field of crafts. To commemorate her memory the premises of the Theatre Crafts Museum at Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg in Delhi has been renamed as 'Kamaladevi Bhavan.' The Crafts Council Of Karnataka gives away 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay Vishwakarma Award', each year to noteworthy crafts persons. For over three decades now, Bharatiya Natya Sangha (BNS), Bengaluru, has been awarding the Kamaladevi Award for the best play of the year. In 2007, the *Outlook* Magazine chose Kamaladevi amongst its list of 60 Great Indians. She is *India Today's* 100 Millennium people.

3.5.49 In her autobiography she attributes her success to those who inspired her and were closely associated with her. She recalls them and cherishes the moments she enjoyed with them.⁹

1 Shankar, the noted cartoonist 2 Sitara Devi, the 'dancer with magnetic feet' 3 Atiya Begum Fayzee and Begum of Jenjira who hosted Sitara Devi's dance at Bombay 4 Rukminidevi Arundale, Madras dancer who married an Englishman. She founded the Kalakshetra, a repository of good traditional artistic forms and offered Kalakshetra to KC to set up a laboratory for scientifically researching and promoting vegetable dyes 5 Balasaraswati, Bharatanayam dancer at Madras 6 O.C. Ganguly, paintings of Rag Ragini series 7 Jamini Roy, painter of folk grandeur, KC and Jamini Roy received the award: Desikottama-the Excellent Preceptor, together at Viswabharati 8 Amrita Sher Gill, Painter 9 Udaya Shanker, dancer KC met at Bombay, a new era for dance 10 Comolata Dutt, Piano player, AIR, New Delhi 11 Alice Boner, devoted Indologist, brought Shanker's career to fruition 12 Anand Coomaraswamy, international scholar in Indian art. 13 Srinivasa Malliah was her close compatriot who patronized crafts. The Theatre Crafts Museum in Delhi was named after him.

3.5.50 KC's search for traditional crafts took her to Shankaracharya of Kanchimutt. She visited the inner precincts of several temples, especially the underground basements, '....where lay a medley of what to me seemed rare precious treasures, from cooking vessels to the most delicate temple lamps and puja articles..... I wanted even some of their rare jewellery designs to be copied for reproduction by the Handicrafts Design Centers to restore them to the people.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :396*)

3.5.51 An interesting and curious associate of KC was 'The Colour Man'. KC was introduced to him in the context of textile dyeing. She lost contact with him for about a year. He was spotted by KC during a stroll in Bangalore in a remote deserted rocky terrain as a Yogi. Again she lost contact with him to be spotted after decades as Swami Ramdas. He was setting up a Crafts Center and wanted KC 's help. They together drew up plans to concentrate on rural crafts to recruit and train young people. Swami Ramdas's 'Anandashram' drew large crowds from India and abroad and grew into a mega complex.

3.5.52 KC sums up her life's mission very aptly,

'as freedom came, service was replaced by struggle for positions of power around which the main currents of public life seemed to whirl. To me, the beacon light lay elsewhere, in the side lanes of creative and constructive work through performing arts and crafts in which I found my true vocation. Thus, I worked with the artists and artisans, those who create and produce so that mankind may not live and grow on bread alone, but on things of beauty that uplift and raise it into finer and serener realms, and experience at least moments of sublimation.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :385*)

3.5.53 KC died in Breach Candy Hospital in Bombay on 29th October 1988. KC's Biographer Jamila Brijbhushan, quotes KC's American friend, Hilda Wierbun Boulter's, article in The Bombay Chronicle in 1941, '....We Americans like to classify people and Kamaladevi does not classify easily. She

has had a unique career and she is a unique person... Kamaladevi is as much a rebel against minor conventions as major...For this much I know: a free India in hands of such leaders as Kamaladevi will be a tremendous force for true progress, civilization and democracy.'(Brijbhushan, 1976: 94-95)

Notes

1. Jasleen Dhamija in Art and Culture's Curator, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay : India-today.com
2. An active Desh sevika and granddaughter of veteran freedom fighter Dadabhai Naoroji
3. Daughter of the socialist leader K. Naatarajan and President of ISRC and editor of 'Social Reformer'
4. Grandson-in-law of Kudmul Ranga rao, a Saraswat Brahmin for his activities to uplift the depressed classes.
5. A peasant leader who led a peasant movement in Karnataka on the lines of Bardoli and hence was given the title 'Sardar'
6. A social worker and a community service activist
7. An American social worker
8. KC differed from Mridula Sarabhai on this issue. KC wished to act as per the wishes of the abducted women. Mridula Sarabhai wanted that all women should be repatriated irrespective of their wishes.
9. The People who inspired KC whom she admittedly mentions were eminent dancers, musicians, painters and the colourman.

Chapter 4

Women's Movement to Women's Empowerment

- 4.1. Indian Woman through the Ages
- 4.2. Formulation of Feminist Perspective
- 4.3. Feminist Concerns and Challenges
- 4.4. Initiatives and Responses
- 4.5. Challenges Ahead

Women's Movement to Women's Empowerment

No Indian gender discourse may be considered to be complete without stating the contributions of KC to elevate the Indian Women. In this chapter investigation is taken up as to how and why did the mission of gender equity formulate itself and how in multifarious ways the propagation of KC's mission concepts translate themselves into practice. "Since most human history is written by male historians, it is more than likely that the women will not get their historical due." (*Shintri, 2004: 125*) The above statement seems to be true in the case of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, a woman freedom fighter from Karnataka who remained in oblivion after India's independence and has been unremembered since her death in 1988. If KC was one of the greatest women produced by modern India, then her contribution to emancipate Indian women must be given due recognition.

In this Chapter a study KC's involvement in All India Women's Conference (AIWC) as not only its head but in various other capacities has been traced to explore the extent of achievements as against her set targets besides her feminist initiatives other than that of AIWC.

In the context of upliftment of the dispossessed of which Indian women formed a part, Gandhiji wrote in 'Harijan'¹ : "If we must talk in terms of Varna, there is only one Varna today for all, whether man or woman we are all Shudras". In other words, we must all serve.' (*Asaf Ali, 1991 :240*)

KC's imbibition of Gandhian ideals and his emphasis on constructive work and of equal opportunity to women, endowed her endeavors with the

necessary philosophy as a background. Her perception of Indian womanhood evolved over the years was impacted by the predominant influences of her childhood and adulthood experiences besides the persons and events that must have influenced in the formulation of her mission to emancipate Indian women. She encountered gender concerns like, child marriage, widowhood, illiteracy leading to ignorance and inequities in terms of social and economic position of woman besides exploitation due to patriarchal structure of the society. In such times KC was one such trailblazer, who considered woman on par with man, which prompted her to disapprove the concept of gender-based reservations. It is true that women still constitute a deprived and tormented section of society, and their fight for parity will go on but unlike in earlier times they could march with confidence on the path shown by pioneers or the path finders like KC.

4.1.1 Empowerment is referred to as equal opportunities for women along with men in overall mechanism, especially at the decision making level, and is a multidimensional process, encompassing all spheres of life, including the social context. The objective of empowerment is to transform the ideology and practice of domination and subordination; to challenge and transfer existing power structures; systems and institutions which uphold and reinforce this discrimination and gain access to and control over material and knowledge resources. Likewise, KC viewed Gender Equity concerns as social concerns in a wider perspective or rather more specifically as human concerns to be encountered as human issues which she states: 'Sex attitudes are not independent of social and economic milieu but are shaped by the controls instituted by the classes that are dominant in society (*Chattopadhyay, 1939 :2*) and "Whenever we find woman economically dependent, we find her position inferior and subordinate, and whenever we find her economically independent, her position is elevated and advanced." (*Chattopadhyay, 1939 :2*) this statement sums up KC's perception of an empowered woman

4.1.2 When a study of Ancient India is taken up, one of the major obstacles encountered is the uncertainty of dating different historical periods. Consequently, tentative dates must be accepted to make the presentation intelligible and coherent. When the Aryans or the Indo- European tribe entered India around 2500 BC and began advancing across Jamuna and the Gangetic Valley to the East near Bengal, many native Cults, with Gods and Goddesses came to be incorporated into the religion of the Vedas. Brahminism the newly assimilated religion faced strong reaction against it, particularly its Vedic Sacrifices, which led to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism around the 6th century BC. From 500BC to AD 500 can be approximated as the period of the Sutras, early Smritis, the epics ie the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the early Puranas. Around 300 BC the status of women began to decline. Dating to the beginning of the Christian era, the Manusmriti affords glimpses into severe restriction on women's activities and status. From AD 500 to AD 1800 more Smritis and Puranas were compiled which further degraded the existence of women. But the philosophers of ancient Greece Socrates and Plato, affirmed equal status to women and advocated same education and training as that to men. The Greek ambassador at the Mauryan Court, Megasthenese describes that Women were utilized as body guards, who were called 'Amazons'.

Ample evidence suggests that from the Vedic times to around BC 300, the well-to-do parents were eager to have talented and educated girls. Upanayana² ritual (initiation into studentship) was obligatory for girls thereby demonstrating that they must have received Vedic and literary education among the three upper classes, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. (These classes or Varnas later came to be called castes). After the decline of the Vedic religion and rise of Brahminical Hinduism, women came to be regarded as inferior, as also in the traditions of three Semitic³(Judaism,

Christianity and Islam) religions. This anti-humanist tendency found its most obnoxious expression in the Puranas compiled from about 200 BC to 1000 AD. The epics Ramayana and Mahabharata carry much interpolated material derogatory of women and the so-called lower castes. In the period of AD 500 to 1800 later Puranas, and additional Smritis were written, and the Bhakti movement, or devotional religion, also became widespread.

The institution of **marriage** was well-established in the Rigveda, the oldest of the four Vedas. Around 300 BC, the societal attitude towards marriage radically solidified. Even in the Epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, many stories underscore the point that marriage was indispensable for girls. But early marriages increased during medieval period. The dowry system came into vogue in Vedic society when the marriage of a girl was conceived as '*dana*'⁴ or a religious gift. In the presence of such a gift, the bride's family contributed cash as an in-kind payment. In the medieval period, the amount of dowry began to increase disproportionately, probably because of exclusiveness of marriages within one's sub-caste and by mid nineteenth century, the dowry system had grown into a monstrous curse throughout the country.

The caste system in India has had a great impact on the marriage structure. The origin of this social division can be traced back to the Vedic time when the word 'Varna'⁵ was used to distinguish groups in Society based upon vocations. The sages of India practised an internally consistent humanism and woman's equality was a part of it besides rejection of caste inequality. The divisions had not yet solidified into rigid groups based upon birth as they did later.

In Karnataka, many inscriptions dating between AD 1500 and AD 1800 testify to the glory of those who committed sati. When Muslim rulers established themselves in India from the 12th century AD to the beginning of 19th century, they generally discouraged the custom. The sativi became

an object of high veneration in the Hindu society is proven by the fact that while earlier writers merely mention the custom, the religious digests written after AD 1500 give details of procedure for the rituals. The sati custom that horrified the British as the most gruesome of all practices in India was on the rise after AD 1300. In October 1987, one public case of sati took place in Deorala village in Rajasthan.

4.1.3 The cause of women's education began to suffer around 300 BC on account of child marriages which came into vogue. By the beginning of this Christian era, Pre-puberty marriages became the social rule, which gave a serious blow to female education. The advent of Muslim rule vanquished the wealthy, cultured Hindu families. These Hindus were ruined, as they were unable to make special arrangements for education of girls, female literacy all but disappeared. During the Medieval period, Patriarchs promoted the prejudice that if girl read or wrote, would become a widow. By mid-nineteenth century, literacy among Hindu women reached its nadir. With the advent of the British, tentative steps were taken to provide at least a minimal education to girls.

4.1.4 A study of woman's progress through the ages from the Vedic times to the present tells that Indian woman, even after a century since the first International Woman's Day was observed in 1910, is still an exploited and deprived lot. Her status as an equal partner in the vedic period; her denigrated position during the Puranic age; curtailment of her freedom in the late Aryan times after 300 B.C. ; attempts to restore her dignity by Buddha, Mahavira and Gurunanak; her rescue by the religious reformist Basaveshwara in Karnataka in the 12th Century AD; her encounters during the mid-nineteenth century with evils like child marriage, Sati, the so-called cursed widowhood and illiteracy brought to the fore the social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, Dr. Annie Besant,

Dayanand Saraswati, Pandita Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade, Maharshi Karve and others. Besides the above, Mahadevi akka from Karnataka as also Andal and Avai, the Tamil poetess, Mirabai of Chittor played a vital role in the social and national harmony consciously and constructively. By the beginning of the 19th century, the status of women had plummeted so low as to bring to the word 'degradation' a new and ignominious definition. In India When the socio- religious movements emerged, the foremost was Brahmo Samaj founded in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy who advocated English education and fought for abolition of sati in 1829. The Indian reformers of 19th century, wanted to educate woman to better them in their roles as wives and mothers but not to make them direct participants in the national development of the country. The British Government also supported this limited viewpoint of women's education, as the Victorian model of the angelic and perfect female held sway. Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati, split in 1893 as Swamy Shradhananda supported traditional Gurukula system of education unlike Dayanand Saraswati's English System. Brahmo Samaj aimed to transfer nationalism in thought and deed besides making tireless efforts for education to girls. Religious reformation by other socio-religious groups like Prarthana Samaj, The Theosophical Society was taken up which created positive influence on women's progress. A social crusader, Ishwar Chander Vidya Sagar initiated the demand for legalizing widow Remarriage; Widow Homes and widow education plans implemented and women went from house to house seeking the distressed to aid in the true missionary spirit.. The Education Commission was set up by Government in 1882 and by the end of the century the home education movement had gained considerable popularity. Year 1886 marks a significant year in the sphere of Indian women's education as Medical colleges were established in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. G.K. Gokhale and Rabindranath Tagore advocated education to women. Mrs. Cousins, Secretary, WIA gave a call to teachers and social workers

which led to All India Women's Education conference (AIWEC) to be convened in Pune in 1927.

4.2 Formulation of Feminist Perspective

4.2.1 KC's early feminist leanings were formulated besides her mother and grandmother, by Dr Annie Besant, Mrs Margaret Cousins, Ramabai Ranade, Pandita Ramabai founder of 'The Aryan Mahila Samaj', a contemporary of Maharshi Karve, a fellow missionary, who stressed Girls' education and Premilila Thackersay, Maharshi Karve's wife Anadibai and his sister-in-law Parvatibai Athavale. Her interactions with women activists like Umabai Kundapur, Agnes Smedly, Jane Adams, Molly Carrol, Madame Charaoui Pasha, Madame Sun Yat Sen and her association with women like Huide Kuper, Hilla Fardoonji, Hansa Mehta, Mridula Sarabhai, Rameshwari Nehru, Raksha Saran, Renuka Roy, and Ansuyabai Kale, must have impacted her positively in terms of gender equity issues. Besides, the events like: her father's death making her aware of lack of rules for women to inherit property, her child marriage, widowhood, death of her two elder sisters owing to torture by their drunkard husbands, her divorce etc must have impacted her negatively.

4.2.2 To serve the cause of education to girls, Mrs. Cousins arranged a drama 'Mirabai' written by Mr. Cousins for collection of funds for National Girls' School, at Mangalore and KC enacted the role of Mirabai against the wishes of Girijabai. KC besides meeting social reformers at Poona, visited Pandita Ramabai's Sharada Sadan, founded in 1889-90, Ramabai Ranade's 'Seva Sadan' founded in 1901, which played a pivotal role in organizing the women's conference, and Manorama's Kripa Sadan which were meant for women discarded by husbands or driven out by their relatives resulting in children becoming vagabonds. By making Poona her base, KC's engagements with 'Deccan Education Society', a centre of academic brilliance and intellectual ferment evolved into a vision, to educate women. She was

associated with Dr. Paranjape, Principal of Fergusson College, Irawathy Karve.' The women fighters for freedom like Satyavati, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, and also impacted KC. KC had joined national movement precisely to impress upon the need to make gender issues an integral part of the nationalist discourse. These educated women led movements for social reforms such as legislation to prevent child marriages, termination of Devadasi System, equal pay for equal work, just inheritance rights for women.

4.2.3 KC comments on western feminism as against Indian, which is non-confrontationist:

"In the west, instead of a cohesive social current, society had been broken into two rigid sex groups, the unhappy results of which time has only served to accentuate. There has continued a harsh confrontation between men and women, this trend getting more and more stratified, (with) women wanting to ape men which often end in pathetic results leading to no solution. The women have been showing a subtle undercurrent of prejudices against womanhood as though they regretted being born women because of several natural functions that went with it..."

(Narasimhan, 1993 :121)

She was a unique blend of non-conformism in terms of patriarchal structures and non-confrontation in terms western feminism. Her constructive non-confrontationist feminist perspective unlike western feminism, aimed at gender equity is highlighted in her presidential address of AIWC delivered in Bombay in 1944,

"The women's movement is essentially a social movement... Thus it operates as an integral part of the progressive social structure in the broadest sense and is not a sex war as so

many mechanically believe or are led to believe...it is equally erroneous to hold the 'nature of man' responsible for women's disabilities and give the women's movement an anti-man twist....."(Brijbhushan,1976 :120)

At the International Women's Conference at Copenhagen in 1929, which KC attended, Nazism and imperialism were the burning issues of the day. KC strived for gender equality and woman empowerment and in the present context of unprecedented Global economic downturn; it is all the more necessary to ponder over the questions of gender equality.

4.2.4 As a member of a delegation to UNESCO during 1940s, she filed a report from Beirut, published in December 1948 issue of '*Roshini*', a bulletin of AIWC, entitled, '*The Basis of Feminism*', which she wrote 20 years before Betty Fried came out with her 'Feminist Theory'. KC's perception of feminism was creative and constructive. Women in western countries had little support from men in their struggle for recognition of their political, economic and social rights. In India, on the other hand, improvement of women's status was an integral part of the process of national regeneration. The Indian National Congress accepted the principle of equal rights for women as early as 1918 and women fought side by side with men in the mass struggle for national liberation.

As regards her views on education, Tagore's vision of education had touched her innermost core and she realized that the contemporary educational system was edging people away from their tradition and culture, and western emphasis on 'specialization' disrupted the basic need especially in rural India, for a 'total development of the human personality'

Her jail experience at Belgaum made her aware of the problems of women prisoners and women labourers. Gandhiji had plans towards social and economic freedom but no programs for exploited classes. She observes that 'the toiling masses are exploited by the upper class, the women in their

turn, even within that class, are oppressed and exploited by men' and such women are sometimes referred to as 'twice colonized' The plight of women prisoners in small towns and villages impacted KC strongly. Freedom fighter Aruna Asaf Ali relates her own jail experience with that of KC's and comments about KC, ' KC found jail life, as did I and hundreds of others from a well-to-do strata of society who had little idea of how the majority of our sisters lived, 'a humanizing and educative experience: "...A large number of women who were with me in prison came from very poor classes, poorer than the lower middle class...I became more and more convinced how important it was to improve their economic life if their social life was to be improved ...that it was not possible to think of merely trying to break caste, it was bound up with their poverty."(*Asaf Ali, 1991 : 102*).'

4.3 Feminist Concerns and Challenges

4.3.1 Out of 1.2 billion poor people in the world, 70% are women. According to United Nations Millenium Campaign, women work 2/3rd of world's working hours, but earn only 10% of world income and own less than 1% of world property. Education is among the most important drivers of human development. Amartya Sen (1999) makes a strong case to see women as dynamic promoters of social transformation. Women when provided with education, employment and ownership rights will have a powerful influence on their ability to control their environment and contribute to economic development. But education helps remove inequality of sexes. Because the status of women depends upon economic power, the extent of a woman's access to education largely determines her position in the hierarchy of prestige. Education ranks as one the Human Rights in the constitution of UNESCO. One grave indicator of Indian Woman's backwardness is that in terms of women's literacy India has reached a dismal low of 134 amongst 174 countries according to a UNESCO report.

4.3.2 For KC purdah and prostitution were as bad as sati and comments: 'The condition of those who are today saved from the devouring flames is hardly better. Their life is a living death being consumed by a slow fire of agony so far as the bourgeois class is concerned. Never having been taught to earn, uneducated, with no economic rights, they are dependent on man and at his mercy.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:19*) Purdah, another of social evils, was also a remnant of medievalism and had no place or reality in the contemporary world. 'Purdah is an anachronism in a country where people demand democracy, for it denies the most elementary rights to citizens who are entitled to them.'

4.3.3 The history of Women's Movement can be traced back to 8 March 1910 when Clara Jetkin in Chicago USA organized the cotton mill women laborers demanding equal wages and civil rights for the first time and launched a movement. This has been a milestone to emancipate the women of the world. And every year March 8 is being observed as 'International Women's Day.' The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was a landmark in the history of women's emancipation when Lenin conferred on women equal political and economic rights with men. Women ceased to be slaves chained to the kitchen and to be treated as goods and chattel. Marriage laws that had been weighed heavily against women were drastically altered. Relief through divorce was made available in the event of marriage proving a failure. The French Revolution initiated a new ideology and a new philosophy of life. Those, whom tradition and religion had long suppressed, saw a ray of hope in the new message and slowly the dumb grew articulate and soon the inert mass became convulsed into a mighty tidal wave that nearly shook the western world from end to end. Equality, human rights new slogans filled the air. The long suppressed women found new champions to encourage and lead them and the Feminist Movement was born.

4.3.4 In the Indian context, Society was dogged by negative phenomena like orthodoxy of Christianity, bigotry of Hinduism and dogmatism of Islam. Of the Semitic religions, Islam was planted by force in India by blind zealots, ambitious conquerors who used a great religion to camouflage their basic motives. During the first four centuries of its birth, Islam which had its own social patterns and laws especially on marriage, divorce, inheritance etc, was a living, creative force, seeking, acquiring, assimilating new ideas, knowledge and giving back the flavor of its efflorescence, interacting with Greek, Roman, Iranian and Indian thought and culture. Christianity brought to India by Apostle Thomas did have impact on the women's sphere. With regard to issues like polygamy, purdah, sati, child marriage, Christianity was supportive of women except the issue of inheritance. In terms of evolution, Society has been accepted as a 'developing organism' and is therefore passing through continuous changes. Our civilization thus flowered into monumental achievement by absorbing challenges emerging a little richer by added new elements or little soberer for the new experiences gained. The operation of discriminatory laws is inevitably part of the social milieu of the times. Islam brought negative values like polygamy and purdah but positive values like brotherhood, equality and gave the right of inheritance to daughters.

4.3.5 The advent of British imperialism in India deflected the entire course of Indian history and future of Indian women. The British gave fresh lease of life to obsolete traditions and customs under the guise of 'Religious Neutrality' and sought to perpetuate their slavery and education especially of women suffered immensely, and women were relegated to a position of little importance due to colonialism. India had a strong negative impact as it is fundamentally an agricultural nation and imperialism impacted the agriculturists to the maximum and provided a fertile ground for imperialism and acquisition of power.

Indian women were plagued by multiplicity of laws prevalent in various parts of the country. In the absence of Uniform laws, the British judges sought the help of pundits and moulvis to interpret customary laws resulting in rigidity, bigotry and subjectivity. Women agitated vigorously for relief from several legal disabilities, which resulted in a spate of bills. With Independence in 1947, women were declared equal with men and they had to play multiple roles in the political, social and economic life of the nation. The framers of Indian Constitution took note of the adverse and discriminatory position of women in society and took special care to ensure that the state took positive steps to give her equal status. Articles 14, 15(2) and (3) and 16 of the constitution of India, not only inhibit discrimination against women but in appropriate circumstance, provide a free hand to the state to provide protective discrimination in favor of women.

The constitution of India enforced in 1950 enshrines in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights & Directive Principles of state policy the principle of Gender Equality & Gender Justice. Conspicuous efforts in the direction of gender equality began in 1974 with the formation of Women's Committee to study the status of women in India. The efforts gained momentum with establishment of a separate department, 'Women and Child Development' both at Union and state levels. The Five Year Plans have also given space to this issue. As of now the constitution of India provides following Articles and Acts to safeguard the interests and empower Indian woman:

Articles

1. Article 14 Equality before law;
2. Article 15 prohibition of Discrimination on grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Caste, sex, place of birth
3. Article 16 Equality of Opportunities in matter of Public employment,
4. Article 325 No person to be ineligible for inclusion in or to claim to be included in special electoral rolls on grounds of Religion, Caste or sex;

5. Article 326 Elections to the houses people and to the legislative Assemblies of states to be on the basis of Adult Suffrage,

Acts

Abolition of Sati system___ 1829

The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act___ 1856

Abolition of Child Marriage Act___ 1860

The Ordinance prohibiting Sati enacted in December___ 1829.

The Age of Consent Act___ 1860.

Child Marriage Restraint Act___ 1930.

Special Marriage Act___ 1954 (Marriage between mentors of different religions without having to renounce her or his religion).

Hindu Marriage Act___ 1955 (The right of Hindu women to divorce on any grounds)

Hindu Succession Act___ 1956 (Legislation of women's property Rights)

The Dowry Prohibition Act___ 1961

The Child Marriage Restraint Act amended___ 1976 (bringing the age of boys to 21 years and of girls to 18 years).

The indecent Representation of women (Prohibition) Act_ 1986.

SITA amended in 1986.(The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girl's Act)

Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act___ 2005

4.4. Initiatives and Responses

4.4.1 KC's feminist involvement was along two fronts-one was through legal changes for which she lobbied and the other through social change in

terms of attitudes and ideas through her interactions with women of all levels, speeches, and her writings.

In the early 20th century, widowhood meant 'cursed state' for Indian woman, untold miseries, social ostracisation and ill-treatment and was considered as inauspicious. Widows were forbidden colored clothes or jewellery and confined to a dark corner of the house as lifelong dependents thrown at the mercy of the relatives. On a personal level, KC had challenged Patriarchal prescriptions for widows and wronged wives by remarrying and divorcing her second husband and dared to challenge orthodoxy of mid-20th century by marrying a man outside her community which is indicative of her progressive feminist perspective.

4.4.2 WIA in London was headed by Grace Lancaster, as Liaison Officer and special liaison group was formed with representation drawn from several British organizations. Five delegates from AIWC attended the International Congress of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship in Berlin in 1930. They were besides KC, Sarojini Naidu, Margaret Cousins, Dorothy Jinarajas, and Dhanavantri Rama Rau.

After Gandhi's entry in India's freedom struggle Social Reformation synonymous (of the process) of regeneration constituted the intertwining strands i.e. Women's emancipation and political independence. Geraldine Forbes holds that in the Indian context National struggle and women's movement went hand in hand and consequently Margaret Budran named it as 'Feminist Nationalism' (Sreemati, 2001 :129) Partha chatterji also points out that at the end of the 19th century along with Nationalist Discourse 'women related problems' came up for discussion. Geraldine Forbes (Sreemati, 2001 :3) Indian Women stepped beyond domestic walls on a large scale in the struggle for independence and implementation of his constructive programme comprising Swadeshi, Untouchability, communal harmony etc.

Women participated in picketing and popularization of Swadeshi. But it is observed that the ascendancy of communalism does not augur well for cause of women's development, for religious fanaticism is irrational and inegalitarian and is usually associated with subordination of women.

4.4.3 When KC was made Secretary of AIWC after Mrs. Cousins, AIWC took up vital issues like: Child Marriage Act, Age of Consent, Right to Property, and Charter of Children's Rights. AIWC espoused many other causes like, adequate food supply to all sections of the people; milk for children and expectant mothers; Family Planning; preservation of traditional culture through schools and special institutions. It also took up questions of inheritance, laws regarding marriage and adoption. KC took constant tours, spoke to individuals and groups wrote a series of pamphlets on these topics for countrywide distribution, which unfortunately have been lost. She arranged in schools folk dances and exhibitions of handicrafts produced by women. KC sought out indigenous dramatic forms and tried to encourage the troupes performing them. She collected traditional textile designs and introduced them in Khadi. AIWC concentrated, unified and awakened women in all parts of India. Many branches of AIWC initiated and aided craft centers, and a large exhibition cum sales for direct sales was arranged by eliminating middlemen.

4.4.4 After 1st world war three women's associations took birth in India: Women's Indian Association (WIA) in 1917, National Council of Women in India (NCWI) in 1925, and All India Women's Conference (AIWC) in 1927. KC's association with AIWC a premier organ, voice and instrument of Indian womanhood was as one of the founders and she held the positions like, the General Secretary ship, Vice-President ship and that of Presidentship. In 1947, AIWC became first Asian Organization, to be accorded consultative status as a NGO, by the Economic and Social Council of the UNO. AIWC kept up its collaboration with international bodies by

participating in Seminars held on racial prejudices recognizing direct relevance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to Women's Legislation Movement. It also helped Amnesty International to collect a million signatures against torture of prisoners. Her deep involvement with AIWC can be gauged by the fact that she had the privilege of lighting the lamp to inaugurate it in Pune in 1927 and after 6 decades she was honored with the same privilege in 1987 on its Diamond Jubilee. AIWC founded in 1927 brought together Indian women of enlightened ideas who wished to change the social status and the traditional code applicable to women. This organization continued to expand and, in post Independence days, came to be the major voice of Indian women with branches throughout the country. It serves as powerful pressure group both at the central and state levels. At present, it is engaged in voluntary social work, in addition to printing its own journal called *Roshini*, which was started in 1941. Earlier issues of Annual Reports and Conferences show the concern of AIWC with such issues like abolition of dowry, reform of marriage laws, and education for women, improving labor conditions, and securing political representation for women. The Kenya Conference in 1985 was convened to review the positive and negative trends of the decade. With 1975 to 1985 declared as the *Women's Decade*, one of the positive achievements had been that number of women voters has increased thus reducing the gap between male and female voters from 12 per cent to 6.89 per cent. The report of the conference also showed that the turnout of women voters had gone up. KC as the head of AIWC, set up an office and attended to work herself doing clerical jobs and distributing letters, 'I devoted a part of my time to travel throughout the country, carrying on continuous propaganda among public for social and legal changes to give women their rights. It never took on what in western Phraseology is called Feminist role in the narrow sense. Thereupon follow the demand for equal opportunities for equal opportunities for all as obviously women were not the only victims of social

and economic disabilities and discriminations. Others were equally oppressed socially, and depressed economically'. (*Chattopadhyay, 1986: 85*) After her experience abroad, KC introduced a few new innovations for the housewives. It was an exhibition of a new set of home appliances and gadgets and suggested that along with display and sale of handcrafted items. The labour-saving gadgets were meant to reduce the strain on women doing chores. She organized shows of performing arts, exhibitions of arts and crafts. But Geraldine Forbes comments that by 1940 AIWC lost its influence because it was supposed to represent only the Hindu Middle classes and Urban women. Geraldine Forbes (*Sreemati, 2001: 172*).

4.4.5 To mention a few feminist initiatives taken up by KC: in 1927 as Officer Commanding of the Seva Dal's Women's Wing, she introduced Orange bordered saris for the Seva Dal Girls volunteers. Hence they popularly came to be known as 'Orange Brigade.' In 1929, when she attended, the International Alliance of women in Berlin, she complained to the Organizers of absence of Indian Flag. Instantly, Indian delegates tore their sarees and prepared a flag. KC made AIWC more democratic by starting elections for the post of President. Consequently, Sarojni Naidu was the first elected President of the All-India Women Conference (AIWC). KC took care that AIWC was kept away from politics but the politicization of AIWC saddened KC as corruption crept in through bogus membership and different groups wanted to capture the organization. She undertook survey in Bengal and Assam and legislation was introduced to provide better working conditions and specially to prevent women from working underground.

4.4.6 KC asserts that colonialism had disintegrated the social fabric of India with regard to education, Industries, and indigenous arts and crafts. She emphasizes, ' In fact there was a regular network of schools in villages in those days which Imperialism ruthlessly destroyed, just as it crushed out

Indian manufacturers, arts and handicrafts. In its place was introduced a hybrid education which was neither fish nor flesh.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939 :14*)

Her feminist involvement was with the pre-democratic India and with advent of democracy in India, the rulers and the ruled were involved in the intricate process of redefining themselves, and not only that women's contribution in agricultural and household services went unacknowledged on the rural front but also Indian Women's endeavors for social, political and economic space in the country's affairs met with little success. By 1929, her political involvement overtook her endeavors in women's movement. In September 1929, she returned after a European tour where she represented Indian women at the International Alliance of women and the New Education Conference. For her it was not a choice between Women's Struggle and that of the nation because it did not appear a question of subsuming the feminist agenda to the nationalist cause. The question was how women could fight for their own emancipation in a nation that was itself enslaved.

KC condemned all forms of despotism and rightly on the questions of Nazism and Imperialism she endorsed her stance by advising AIWC to disaffiliate itself from the International Women's Conference in 1942 when Nazism and Imperialism were considered as 'internal matters' of a country, and recommended for its re-affiliation in 1966 when matters were set right.

4.4.7. In the annual session of 1956 held in Indore, the AIWC categorically announced that it was neither a political nor a feminist organization. Its purpose is to educate women who are classified as one of the most backward classes in India. Much of AIWC's success and growth in popularity was owing to the organizing ability and self-sacrificing hard work put into it by KC who held important position during its second, third and fourth years and guided the formation of its constitution and established constituencies in 30 areas by her strenuous touring. As female education and

training in modern skills received increased support from the Indian Government in the 1980s, The AIWC therefore organized a high-power Round Table discussion on 18 October, 1985 which emphasized adult education and named illiteracy as one of the major enemies of the country. To coordinate the activities of various social organizations, the AIWC helped in the formation of an All-India Committee for Eradication of Illiteracy among Women in which all social organizations could participate. This committee made recommendations to the central government to be included in Five-Year Plans.

4.4.8 KC was strongly in favor of a uniform law for women irrespective of religion. She emphasizes, 'A single moral code ensures far greater social purity than a double standard. Morality lies in a harmonious balance of forces and not in an unequal struggle.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:23*). It would be appropriate to quote Dr. S. Gopal, the historian and biographer of Nehru to substantiate KC's view about Uniform Civil Code (UCC). Gopal says:

"there are certain steps which, under pressure of circumstances, Nehru took or failed to take, which do not fit squarely with his promotion of secularism as the root of equality and basis of democracy. Special treatment of minorities is in itself a weakening of the secular ideal....he failed to provide equality before the law to all Indian women and promulgate a common civil law...But what Nehru postponed in the fifties has now become even more difficult." (*Asaf Ali, 1991: 177-178*)⁷

Indian society still lacks a common civil code though it is a part of the Directive Principles of State Policy in our constitution. The AIWC had been very active in the 1980s in mobilizing public opinion against discriminating civil code for different religious minorities. As of today, the AIWC has not succeeded in bringing about a UCC, which would give equal protection to Muslim women.

4.4.9 The dowry has been another concern of the AIWC. Even though the Dowry Prohibition Act passed in 1961 was strengthened in 1984 to make the Act more stringent, high marriage expenditures and dowry remain a serious problem besetting both the rural and the urban societies. The AIWC has pointed out that dowry symbolizes a certain attitude towards women that they are inferior to men. Besides agitating for changes in the law, the AIWC has been actively involved in many practical projects to help the poor rural and urban women. Workshops and training programs are held all over the country to acquaint in rural and urban women with the use of science and technology in farming, energy-saving devices in the kitchen (like a solar oven), recycling of waste, improving of sanitation, and providing clean water.

4.4.10 If we look at the history of Gender-based reservations in India, it is interesting to note that the committee on the status of women (1971-74) had rejected by majority the proposal for statutory reservation of seats to women in legislatures. A Joint Committee of representatives of AIWC, Women's Indian Association (WIA), and the National Committee for women drew up a memorandum which informed the Government that they did not desire any special privileges by way of reservation of seats or nomination, and they would prefer to fight elections in general constituencies on equal lines with men. They regarded reservation as a badge of weakness and backwardness, which they repudiated. KC's rejection of the concept of gender-based reservations was based on the progressive belief that women are on par with men, which she radically upholds as, 'By any yardstick of reason, this is insanity once the concept of reservations was accepted, merit would be tossed out of the window because no country could progress unless it exalted and rewarded merit.' (Narasimhan, 1999 : 144) But ironically and very conversely, in the 21st century Indian woman is an 'Endangered Half' owing to *Gender Cleansing* which is beginning to emerge as a statically significant

phenomenon which includes evil practices like infanticide and foeticide of the female as the declining female to male sex ratio in India 927:1000 reflects and obviously its social implications are going to be grave and regressive to the society

In 1912, women took the initiative under the Irish suffragist, Margaret Cousins to set up the WIA to awaken women for public service. It had 72 branches all over India .And it organized a London committee in 1928, to maintain regular contact with woman's organizations in Britain and to seek the support of British Public opinion for reform of Indian electoral laws. The WIA had friendly links with the International Women's Alliance. In 1917 for the first time Indian Women demanded that, 'Woman be recognized as people'. A 14-member delegation of women led by Mrs. Cousins presented a memorandum to Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India, at Madras on 18 December 1917. It was approved in 1918, in accordance with the demand of franchise to women by the Indian National Congress at the Calcutta Session presided over by Mrs. Annie Besant. In 1919, Mrs. Besant and Sarojini Naidu appeared before the South Borough Commission. In this connection, Madras Legislative Council took the lead and enfranchised women in 1921. In Madras out of total voters, only 8.46% were women, in Bombay 5.03%, in United provinces and Bengal 3.0% and in Punjab only 2.5% were women.(Geraldine Forbes 147-) Initially as Women's Movement in south was not so strong and grant of voting rights was not viewed as a serious threat by men. Later, congress leaders like C.R. Rajagoplachari vehemently opposed Radha Subbarayan, Ammu Swaminathan and Rukmini Lakshmipathi's entry into electoral politics. A total of one million voted for the first time in 1923 elections. Madras again became the first Presidency in 1926 to allow women to contest elections. When only three weeks were left for campaigning for the elections Mrs.Cousins encouraged KC to contest, which she did and lost by 55 votes.

4.4.11 KC's involvement in such diverse activities widened her parameters and also shaped her views about the role of the women's conference. At the 3rd Women's Educational Conference at Patna in January 1929, KC declared that there was need for a widespread women's movement to give women their rightful place and status in society. Hilla Fardoonji and she moved a Resolution for widening the scope from purely educational to all problems connected with women. Thereafter the organization came to be known as All India Women's Conference (AIWC) whose activities were thereafter divided into two sectors: education and social welfare. Her appeal drew the attention of the conference to socio-economic context and the plight of the average woman struggling against poverty and social tyranny and not to let the organization end up as a 'Drawing Room Show.'

In 1933 the AIWC sent three representatives to the Joint Select Committee negotiate for women in the new constitution because wifehood was the qualification for women's franchise. In India in 1930, with the launching of Civil Disobedience Movement the Women's Movement received a tremendous impetus. It is significant to note that Mrs. M. E. Cousins was installed as First Women Honorary Magistrate in India in Madras in February, 1923. Women's International League for peace and Freedom's British section adopted a resolution at the outbreak of Second World War in 1939, urging their Government make India free. KC points out that in 1933 itself, AIWC demanded a democratic constitution conferring full self- governing rights on India, including a clause in the Fundamental Rights granting equal rights to women; declared themselves strongly against communal electorates, against reservations of seats for women and special women's constituencies against wifehood and literacy qualification for franchise. This reflects much credit on the sense of reality, which the women showed in pressing these points forward. For the old_Franchise qualification was very restricted, being based

on property, which under the present legal disabilities entitled few women to vote (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:11*).

4.4.12 To expand AIWC's base and to reach out to a wider social strata KC traveled tirelessly all over India delivering lectures on evils of social customs like child marriage, purdah meeting women's groups. Within 2 years i.e. in 1929 it established 32 branches in India. In 1927 Conference's Resolution, the medium of instruction in Secondary Education, had a strong lobby for English. KC at the age of 24, made a valuable contribution by asking for an amendment to include Hindi and Urdu. When within a week of her election defeat, KC was elected as organizing Secretary of AIWC, Sarojini Naidu proposed her name with the comment, "her spectacular performance blazed a new trail for Indian womanhood. We should ourselves congratulate ourselves on that unhappy result, for the loss of one state now means the gain of the entire country." (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :83*) KC was the first Indian woman to contest any election who dared against heavy odds, which gained her recognition as a courageous and bold fighter for rights of women, which in turn demonstrated women's growing consciousness. Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, challenged women to suggest suitable education for women. Prompted by this All India Women's Educational Conference was held at Poona from 5 to 18 January 1927 as Poona was a city of Social Reformers like Pandita Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade, reactionary and nationalist Tilak, Jyotirba Phule, a pioneer in women's education and Maharshi Karve, a social reformer. This conference was Indian women's first encounter with history. KC worked as a volunteer in this conference and was assigned the job of looking after the delegates. The whole gamut of education from revision of textbooks, medium of instruction to teaching sex hygiene in schools from primary to University level, were discussed. In conclusion, the conference elected standing committee with Maharani of

Baroda as President, Sarojini Naidu as Vice-President, and Margaret Cousins as Chairman and KC as her organizing Secretary. She ensured that AIWC had a permanent headquarter with a central office with separate departments, a library, publication of small books, pamphlets for education and propagation and a small employment section.

During her visit to US, KC found that the stream Home Economics was popular and consequently AIWC took up the cause of higher education by starting Lady Irwin's college of Home Economics for Girls at Delhi, the first of its kind with 11 students including Women's Polytechniques. She supported Lady Irwin College for Home Science as she viewed subjects like nutrition, environment management, and development of resources and social welfare of vital importance to girls. She rejected Macaulay's formula of producing brown Sahibs, 'Indian blood and color but English in tastes.' Even when she was a member of CSP, KC opposed the importance given to English. She visualized an education, which would lead to women empowerment.

4.4.13 During the AIWC Annual Session in 1942, KC decided to use AIWC to resume her old project to train women for better citizenship with the growing need to equip them with initiative and leadership. AIWC welcomed her proposal. Consequently, KC, Mirabehn and Mridula Sarabhai, a great enthusiast for fieldwork, organized a training camp for women for AIWC in Abrama village in Gujrat. The camp opened on March 20, 1942 and KC had chalked out a plan of activities to be taken up there. A comprehensive article on the camp by C.K. Narayanaswamy was published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, dated 21 June 1942, entitled 'Two Days in the Women's Camp.' Women were trained in aesthetics like music, dance, drama and handicrafts, environment and physical culture. Seva Dal was regarded as a 'revolutionary women's army' leading to angry scenes in the British parliament and a blanket ban was flung over every non-governmental body

and Seva Dal was one of them. The camp had to be wound up after 3 months because India was preparing herself for Quit India Movement

On 17 April 1944, KC was supposed to preside over AIWC annual session in Bombay. She came to know from the newspapers that the Bombay police to ban her entry in to the city issued a prohibitory order. When she defied the ban order and informed H.V.R. Iyengar of it he apologetically commented,

“You are free to stay as long as you wish. In a way this is your city, where you unfurled the flag and the success of the first salt satyagraha was in no mean measure due to your ingenuity and drive. I would be the last person to debar you from capital...”

(Chattopadhyay, 1986: 293)

which explains the extent of respect she commanded in the political circles.

4.4.14 The following statements of KC explain her progressive perception of contraception as a positive and scientific prerequisite for the wellbeing of a society, ‘Birth control has both moral as well as a material aspect to it.’ (Chattopadhyay, 1939: 33) and ‘Birth control is not curtailing births but scientifically regulating them.’ (Chattopadhyay, 1939: 35). She met Margaret Sanger, Mother of Family Planning in the US and visited Family planning clinics there. She toured India in this connection from 1969-71, with an experienced doctor at the request of population council to make survey and assess the contribution of voluntary organizations to health and family planning. KC was one of the founders of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI) and its patron from 1950 to 1976. She presided over the First International conference of Family Planning in Bombay. Her assertion ‘the women’s complete right to their own bodies’ reflects her independent feminist view and her perception of Family Planning was positive, “Birth control is

not curtailing births but scientifically regulating them.” (Chattopadhyay, 1939: 35) AIWC planned a medical service where there was no medical facility and operated vans under the slogan ‘*keep the vans moving*’. The Great World pioneer of birth control, Margaret Sanger was invited to 1935 Session.

KC states that woman has to ‘wage a war against man, a war against her sexual dependence so that he can no more chain and enslave her through children’. She challenged the patriarchal ideology which reduced a woman to breeder of male progeny. She states further, “motherhood should be undertaken with full responsibility according to the emotional urge and physical capacity of the women ... (for which) knowledge of contraceptive was essential” (Nanda, 2002 :35) which endorse her liberal and progressive views. KC, endorsed women’s reproductivity in the strongest possible terms, ‘no woman can call herself free who cannot own and control her body and who can be subdued and enslaved through that very quality of fertility which once raised her to the altar as a deity in the dawn of early civilization.’ Prabha Rani, ‘Women’s Indian Association’ in Leela Kasturi and Veena Majumdar(eds), *Women and Indian Nationalism*, Vikas, Delhi, 1994.

KC was an autonomous agent of women’s movement. She refused to confine herself within the parameters of a ‘socially’ acceptable code whether as a widow or a wife seeking divorce. Within the ideological limitations of her time, KC also attempted to analyze gender/class relations in a capitalist colonial system, unequal moral standards in a rigid patriarchy, and the indivisible link between the women’s revolution and sexual independence through contraception. KC’s advocacy of Women’s right to individual self-expression, of women’s rights to autonomy over their bodies through contraception, above all speaking for those condemned to lives of household drudgery was revolutionary of her times.

The AIWC considered Family Planning as critical issue and a vigorous propaganda taken up on family planning besides encouraging social organizations

to make it more practical. AIWC was remarkably ahead of the times and was one the first groups to alert the nation and sensitize the people about the dangers of population explosion. Yet historian Patricia Caplan states that 'Women's Associations never discussed or questioned women's reproductive role or challenged the rules governing men and women. In this direction the 1935 session itself received a special impetus by the presence of Mrs. Margaret Cousins who was a great pioneering champion of Family Planning and 1937 marked the opening of the family planning centre. It stressed in its very first memorandum in 1927, when KC was its secretary, the children's welfare, and their health in particular besides the physically disadvantaged or 'differently abled' children were provided with 'baby sitting' facilities. 'Swamy Bhavan' became the 'National Children's Home' as KC requested Nehru to gift it for the establishment of a home for children. AIWC repeatedly recorded its regret and demanded total abolition of child labor in India within shortest possible time. It raised funds through its branches all over India for children for National Committee of the UN Association for child welfare work.

4.4.15 As fallout of 2nd World War (1939-42) with famine ravaging the country, a special body to save children was created and Homes for children were set up. KC ran into Mahanadi floods on a rescue mission in Orissa to save the stranded children. Urmila Mehta, a seasoned worker and a close friend who had volunteered to venture out on this tough expedition, accompanied her.

4.4.16 In connection with employees' benefits, AIWC welcomed The Employees State Insurance Act and Registered Factory Act of 1948. AIWC succeeded in getting the Factories and Mines Act and Coal Mines act passed. In 1932, a resolution was passed to start training centers for two month courses to impart knowledge about health, child care, sanitation, nutrition, civics,

hygiene besides practical training in simple crafts, indigenous dramatic forms in schools, group singing, folk dancing, starting, organizing and running co-operatives. A modest Employment Bureau was started to find placements for unemployed girls. AIWC asked for abolition of wide disparities and removal of discriminatory rules of LIC.

4.4.17 KC's article 'Women of China' appeared on 22 February 1942, in *The Bombay Chronicle* surveys all the women's organizations in China. She also wrote a series of Pamphlets on current burning problems such as food, milk, awakening of Indian Womanhood etc. KC had been publishing series of articles on the anti-imperialist struggles, particularly the Egyptian case and as early as 1929 in 'Women of Modern India', KC lashed out at the 'Supreme over lordship of man' and asserted the right of 'women to seek their own free choice in selection of partners and to enter the state of motherhood when and if they desired.' (Nanda, 2002: 32)

4.4.18 KC struck a new note by affirming the *human value* of a housewife in economic and social terms, 'women's contribution as the basic cohesive element in the family and in the society and the nation needed recognition, whether she held a job and contributed monetarily or not' and 'The Indian women's movement has met with comparatively little organized opposition such as in the west where it was driven to take the form of a militant warfare.' (*Cattopadhyay, 1939 : 10*). In India women's problems had been treated as social part of a malaise in the body of our constitution. In her article '*The Condition of Indian Women*' KC maintains, 'Although man till recently man has been executing his controlling power, and it is true that through enforcing extremely rigid regulations and traditions has been curbing her ability to earn, he has never questioned women entering any field of activity or her dependence on any profession.' (Sreemati, 2001 :231)

KC's choice of phraseology for the Resolution was not precise and phrases like 'ideals of motherhood and beautifying the home' (*AIWC's Files*

1927-8) led to misunderstanding among later scholars who saw it as an education solely for cultivation of feminine virtues. 'KC did not believe in confining girls to their homes as wives and mothers, it was not a role she particularly relished herself. Her suggestion to introduce new subjects for girls and starting the Polytechniques was a testimony enough of her innovative thinking.

In 1928 to organize the Second Women's Conference and lobby for Harbilas Sarda's Child Marriage Restraint Bill, KC was in Delhi. At this time violent demonstrations were organized on the eve of the Conference and KC had participated in the demonstrations against Simon Commission. On account of this when Vicereine refused to inaugurate the session of AIWC which she was supposed to do, Mrs Cousins persuaded Lady Irwin to inaugurate it and the issue was resolved. KC assisted by Dr. Jayakar met all the important leaders to seek support for the Child Marriage Restraint Bill. Her view about Child marriage is substantiated when she observes, 'over hundreds and thousands of young blossoming girls, are wrecked for life physically and psychologically by forced premature motherhood. By all moral codes it is rape but our social conscience is hard bound by dead old usages and the sharp edge of the dumb agony of those innocent victims penalized for life by cruel customs, hardly touches it. So the murders and rapes go on, while we sit and gloat over the past glories of dead and gone Seetas and Savitris. (*Chattopadhyay, 1939 :16*)

4.4.19 The working class women, both industrial and rural are freer than upper class women in India.-Social evils like purdah, polygamy and divorce do not affect the working class women as they themselves are bread earners and free from male domination. Women are rarely principal earners as ownership of land is mainly in male hands. For every 1000 labourers be it general or plantation, there are 457 women to 543 men. Everywhere women

are paid less and in some places about half of men's wages. That a woman spends proportionally as much energy and labour and is entitled to the same wages is lost sight of. Although in 1931, at the Karachi Session of the Congress party, Gandhi moved Fundamental Rights Declaration granting women equal rights, women's representation was 80 in 1939 in the legislatures of provinces and states (1927-1939). But in the 14th Lok Sabha women's representation limited itself to only 9%. After about 6 decades of democracy in India; despite the Beijing Declaration of 1995 for at least 1/3rd representation to women and Indian women's united demand for 33% reservation in Parliament women's representation projects a dismal picture of Indian woman's disabilities.

The Indigo, Tea and Mine Worker's exploitation led to their deplorable conditions as also the Shellac industry and rice milling labourers who were pathetic in condition. In 1901 Indian Mining Act and Workman's Compensation Act were passed besides there was a demand to stop women from working underground. The Factory Act was enacted in 1947 and women welfare officers were appointed and Maternity Benefits Acts also came into force in some state. The rights of women workers to maternity leave, now automatically and universally incorporated into statute books, was another area she worked in, by getting involved with the conditions of work of women labourers in the textile mills of Madurai. The big textile mill owners attempted to dissolve the 'Labour Union' and dismiss the 3000 women workers but their consistent propaganda forced them to back down. KC and Mrs. Cousins had taken up the matter in Women's Association and opened a campaign for right of women industrial workers to three months' maternity leave.⁸ Consequently, the employers were forced to accept the right of women to have maternity leave for a period of 3 months. She realized the pathetic condition of the women of low-income groups. B. Shiva Rao, a veteran journalist and a pioneer Trade Unionist informs that KC took keen interest in the problems of women

workers. AIWC set up special Committees for Industry, Labor and Cottage Industries. They campaigned against women working in Mines and fought for legislation on maternity and other social benefits like crèches. KC was a member of these committees, which critically evaluated some proposals. She found that some of them worked 'negatively against' the interest of the workingwomen. She anticipated the criticism of the later scholars that AIWC was elitist in its approach and its upper class bias was detrimental to the women working in Mines and Plantations. She and her women colleagues were fully aware of the complexities of an average woman's struggle.

In 1930's India began exporting Cashew nuts. Her native town of Mangalore was an important centre in the Cashew export business. The women workers in Cashew nut peeling were not permitted to use knives, which bruised their fingers. KC organized a big strike to redress this question, which a great success and which led to introduction of knives. She formed several Labor Unions of both men and women at Mangalore and was the first organizer of Trade Unions in the district of Mangalore. Of all the Unions she launched the transport workers was the largest.

4.4.20 KC also stressed the need for getting women into legislatures. It was necessary that women have political power. In 1929 property ownership was a qualification and women were disadvantaged since they could not inherit under the Hindu Law. She thus demonstrated how inextricably the 'women's question was linked with social and political questions and how the national struggle for freedom was essential for women's emancipation. By rejecting Gender-based reservation, they sought to defuse the inherent contradiction in their struggle, hence their disowning of 'feminism'. Women's Movement was aimed at creating awareness among women, make them economically self-reliant, to give the call to fight against all kinds of exploitation and suppression and encourage women's progress educationally and socially.

4.4.21 Historians of feminist studies have several different perceptions of women's role in the nationalist movement. According to Minault, it was an extension of the home; whereas Mies contends that for the middleclass women, politics was a hobby. KC's life shows that women did not extend the home so much as seek alternatives to it... "Forbes' other charge that women were careful not to cross the limits of respectability is also untenable. She depends entirely on the personal point of view of Perin and Goshiben Captain of Desh Sevika Sangh who were not even representative of the organization as a whole ... There is enough visual evidence which indicates these women activists were not bothered with common notions of 'Respectability'." (Nanda, 2002 : 53) Scholars like Geraldine Forbes understands the social compulsions of these women in avoiding confrontation with men, but others have maintained the view that there was no real women's movement, that the AIWC was elitist, unaware of gender issues, and insensitive to the concerns of the working class women. This seems a deliberate misreading (Nanda, 2002 :34).⁹

In 1934 CSP with the formation of, KC who was an active member of the leftist Congress Socialist Party, took up the challenge of upliftment of women by analyzing the 'Causes of Women's enslavement' as discussed in her book, 'The Awakening of Indian Women (1939) : 'It is Feudalism and Religion which fasten chains on her...economic independence gives her elevated status...it is class that determines the fate of women, not sex...a society where a few live in, luxury at the expense of many.' *Awakening* (Nanda, 2002 :35) In her book 'Awakening of Indian Women' (1939), KC devotes two chapters of her book to the economic conditions of women workers-both rural and industrial. She draws attention to the fact that women comprised the majority of agricultural labour, yet they did not own land, that woman received lower wages than men for equal work, and that the general de-industrialization had affected women more than men with their numbers

declining from 257: 161, in 1929 to 2 25: 632, in 1939. In a Report on the Status of Women presented by KC to Asian Relations Conference in March 1947 she again highlighted women's declining position in employment, which affected their economic status.

But her book, *'India Women's Battle for Freedom'* (1983) was meant to defend women in AIWC who were referred to as 'reformist' although KC herself disagreed with some of the policies of AIWC. But 'Awakening' was a severe condemnation of patriarchal moral and power structures. She condemns patriarchal sexual attitudes which 'reduce women to reproductive machine...and a prey to male dominance...husband worship is a necessary feature...he is all in all demanding unquestioning allegiance, the greater her submission to man and more her suffering surer and quicker is her road to heaven.' She censures the 'double standards of morality under whose wheels women had been ruthlessly ground with a strong standard for women and light one men.' (Nanda, 2002 : 36-37) 'The Indian Women's Battle for Freedom' KC wrote when she was 80. On reading her book there appears certain confusion and inconsistency with her views on gender issues. These can be explained by the altered circumstances of her personal life and the historical and social context. As she was 'Socialist Politician', Social Reforms of 'bourgeois society' were less important to her than the class struggle for the mass of lower class-caste and tribal woman for whom economic freedom alone would lead to disintegration of the old patriarchal conception of family. She had glossed over her own critique of the 'bourgeois' women's movement. This position, in fact, led to 'great clashes' at the women's Conference that she attended, as she recalled in her interview in *Celebrity* in 1984, 'You have to move onto a 'humanitarian approach' she advised 'and not a sexist approach.' She sympathized with the underdog and the dispossessed and women formed part of that group.

KC says a small group consisting of Yusuf Meherally, C.K. Narayanaswamy, Nalinakshi Sanyal and herself had prepared the Fundamental Rights Declaration. But Nehru does not refer to KC's part in it. When it came for discussion in AICC Meeting in Bombay, in August 1931, KC strongly objected to the phrase, 'The State will provide protection to women workers. 'She considered that the word 'protection' represented humiliating and patronizing attitude and asked for its substitution by 'The State shall pay_attention.' for which she invited the ire of Nehru.¹⁰

4.4.22 KC was a lone voice demanding sexual division of labour at home drawing a parallel between the contribution to national productivity of a house and a factory labourer, she asked for remuneration for household labour.¹¹ She listed advisory centers for women to furnish information on health, hygiene and women's rights. Since ages, women are branded as 'producers' and 'nurtures' rather than 'producers'. Women's productive role remains invisible, both within the household and at work place. At the workplace women labourers are underpaid, undervalued and given unskilled tasks and considered supplementary workers. KC struck a new note by affirming the human value of a housewife in economic and social terms by recognizing her productive potential. She acknowledges and emphasizes women's power as,

"Women power is basic and woman must be recognized as a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man. For it is time society recognized that every housewife supports herself though she may not scratch at a desk or run a machine, by the labour she performs and contribution she makes towards maintenance of the home and its happiness..."(Brijbhushan, 1976:120-121)

1944, as President of AIWC, KC proposed to open training centers, which would issue certificates to the trainees to help them secure employment

in Nursing, stenography, typing and cottage industries. The inclusion of 'Women's Subjects' in the curriculum by the AIWC and Lady Irwin College gave traditional knowledge skills in nutrition, cooking and health care an elevated status, making careers in those fields possible. The critics have failed to appreciate this fact. The educated Indian taste for tawdry foreign objects and European prints was behind KC's plea that "girls should be taught to worship beauty through conscious cultivation...feeding and clothing child is not enough, fill his life with beautiful works of art, books..."(Nanda,2002 :30)xii During her tours, she tried to combine the programmes of the Women's conference and the Social Reforms Conference giving activities a larger dimension and a deeper significance.

At USA, KC represented East at an International Radio Symposium organized by National Broadcasting companion 'Special contribution of Indian women to the cause of peace'. *The Bombay chronicle* reported that in USA KC visited various Government departments like the Children's Bureau, Women's Bureau, and the Home Economic Section.

4.4.23 KC suggests that, 'India, if she is to have an emancipated womanhood, must look to a revolutionized future, when class conflict shall have faded away as a dim far off memory, poverty shall have been wiped out and women shall have obtained not only her sex rights but man and woman together shall have won their human rights as well to live as dignified human individuals. (*Chattopadhyay,1939: 35*)

4.4.24 After partition, the government and the public were agitated by the problem of the young women abducted into Pakistan. Mridula Sarabhai, KC and Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, the in charge for rehabilitation were deputed by the Indian government to meet the Pakistani authorities to sign an agreement on exchange of women forcibly taken away by either side and the negotiations were held in Lahore. She differed with Mridula

Sarabhai who felt that all women should be repatriated to their respective countries regardless of their wishes. Talking to several who had settled down to a married life with their abductors and feared disapproval if they returned to their former families, KC felt a less rigid policy would make more sense and provide greater happiness to these women which exhibits her humanistic perspective. To mention a few other occasions when KC's humanist streak came to the fore are: a) In August 1984 she moved by social apathy rushed to file a petition in the Supreme Court for the release from custody of women and children caught in the crossfire during 'Operation Blue Star' in Amritsar. b) In 1985 she took up the problem of child labor and organized a meeting of Non-government (NGOs) at India International Centre, to prepare a draft for the United Nations Charter for the Child c) In January 1988 ON READING A REPORT IN THE *TRIBUNE* ABOUT TWO YOUNG shepherd boys Arun and Bhupinder who had accidentally strayed into Pakistan territory from Jammu. KC petitioned president Zia-ul-Haq seeking his intervention for their release. The boys on arrival insisted on seeing her first because they said, she had "given them a new lease of life."

d) At the time of treatment of her elder sister, an American doctor at Miraj Mission hospital suggested her to interact with the long term patients and study some of cases which were unusual so that she could learn some principle of nursing and conducting a hospital. Later this came of some use for her when she decided to set up a 'make-believe' ward in the women's wing of Belgaum Central Jail when she was an inmate there for 21 months. She requested those who got released to donate some hospital essentials like cotton, bandages, disinfectants, a stove etc and managed the make-believe hospital which exhibited her deep concern towards human needs and her timely response to any eventuality.

4.4.25 When AIWC campaigned for using the traditional food for children to counter the attraction of tinned and bottled foods, KC gave

the slogan, 'save the children' and made it her special concern to start institutions to look after and educate children besides arranging Scholarships for training in care and education of children. Later on, UNICEF emulated KC's work on the same lines. Girls' Schools and Hostels in many district towns set up. Her special field was hostels for working girls. She set up hostels both in cities and district towns. Naming the women's conference hostel in Delhi after her has recognized her contribution in this field. (*Brijbhushan, 1976 : 122*)

4.4.26 An integrated approach adopted by AIWC was its refusal to accept the principle of special electorate for women which had been agreed to, by the Government's nominees at the First Round Table Conference in 1930. Sarojini Naidu opposed reservations and separate electorates, thereby signaling the AIWC's determination to continue its fight for Universal Adult Franchise. Women wanted 'equality and no privileges' and a 'fair field and no favors.' Women Nationalists resented being classed among weaker sections or as KC contends, 'to petition for favors, concessions or making sex a claim for special considerations...this kept women free from the violence of sex war.'

4.4.27 KC observes,

"The Women's Movement (in the accepted sense) in India as in the other countries is in the hands of the few bourgeois women who must necessarily maintain it within the framework of present day society. It is consequently colored by their own problems and needs and does not correctly reflect the demands or the problems of the large mass of women". (*Chattopadhyay, 1939 : 7*)

In 'Awakening ', KC leveled similar accusations against 'bourgeois' women who let the movement be colored by their own 'needs' and 'problems'.

KC pointed out that 'divorce' and 'remarriage' was allowed by the customary law amongst many lower castes and the working classes were not 'bothered by laws of inheritance since they owned no property' KC stated that several pro-women enactments and amendments to existing laws are required as regards marriage, divorce and adoption laws. The laws are not supportive of women in a society, which is predominantly male dominated.

4.4.28 Increasing violence perturbed KC. The January 4, 1948 issue of "*Roshini*", of AIWC, carries the text of a speech delivered by KC at a public meeting in Beirut on '*Freedom and Futility of violence*'. KC observed a steady erosion of the concept of thoughtfulness and concern for others. KC compares the contemporary women of her times to the women of late 20th century:

"Women of those times who adhered to the concept of the totality of society showed tremendous self-confidence and inner strength even though they were suffering from many more disabilities and lacked many of the opportunities available to women today." (*Chattopadhyay, 1986 :123*)

Irish Theosophist, suffragist, pioneer of Women's Movement in India and a close associate of KC, Mrs. Cousins testifies the period between 1929 and 1933 in Indian Women's Movement as the 'Great Crusade' and states, " In the great crusade between 1929 and 1933 women of all castes, communities, all degrees of poverty and wealth shared the burdens, the pain, the sacrifices, the joys, and the individual new freedom of acting in response to the need of the moment without reference to old precedents, customs, shibboleths of 'proper' sex conduct and sex seperativeness. Men and women acted as souls, not as sexes, and soul force was their weapon. They learnt new respect for one another's all round capacities and characters displayed in that new light. Smt Sarojini Naidu was the most outstanding woman of

those years and Smt. Kamaladevi was the leader of the youth in them, her beauty, eloquence, brains, audacity and charm making her particularly popular..." *Towards Progress and Freedom, Margaret Cousins (Chattopadhyay, 1939 :56)*

4.5. Challenges Ahead

4.5.1 One major drawback KC disapproved about Indian system was the lack of sense of sanctity in the Indians with regard to their constitution which she expresses as, 'The legislations and Acts threaten to remain dead letters unless they have both public backing as well as strong state enforcement. An apathetic government and the absence of public Conscience nullify and render ineffective the best of legislations.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:17*)

4.5.2 KC confesses that AIWC failed to accomplish the set goals as regards even a vital issue related to women's progress that is education. She writes, 'The Women's Conference had fared no better in the field of educational demands. Apart from ceaseless a representation to the various authorities, Committees and Boards dealing with this subject, nothing substantial has been neither achieved nor likely to be, while political domination of India by an external force lasts.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939: 18*)

4.5.3 KC recurringly refers to the negative impact of Imperialism on India's agricultural economy and Industries as , 'India is largely an agricultural country, or at least has been rendered so by imperialist design by the merciless destruction of Indian industries, not only of the small handicrafts but even larger industries such as textiles, ship-building etc.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:24*) .Other natural factors and economic depression had rendered the Indian economy in to shambles which she states as, 'Famines and floods are as annual as seasons themselves and there is no provision to protect the people from these devastations.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939: 27*) 'The

poor condition of the industries coupled with world depression serves to keep the standard of living of the laborers low.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939:27*)

4.5.4 In KC's view the legislations have failed to protect women and children. She declares, 'Legislations do not adequately protect children even in organized industries. Greater mechanization and haphazard legislation considerably add to the difficulties of women workers. For instance, the principle of prohibiting women from under-ground mining work without substitute employment left mining families to starve in the most callous manner.' (*Chattopadhyay, 1939: 28*)

4.5.5 KC discusses the subtler issues, which have remained unresolved for several years like Child Marriage and Immoral Traffic in Women resulting in further social problems. She states, 'associated with early maternity is another evil frequent maternity besides remarriage is still looked upon as a taboo in spite of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856.

4.5.6 Another significant factor is the general apathy of Indian administration towards our constitution and other rules, which is evident from the report of the UNO as regards elimination of discrimination against women. In the two day Workshop on May 24th and 25th 2007, about UNO's CEDAW (Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women) and Islamic Law, it was found that India had violated its own constitution and the rules of CEDAW. Under CEDAW rules, section 19, all marriages need to be registered and child marriage is a violation of rules, But in India violation of rules is a common occurrence.

4.5.7 It is desirable that gender-blind policies ought to make way for gender sensitive policies. Meeting practical gender interests of women and emphasizing investment on women's human development are the approaches to women's empowerment. The gender equality is so much more extreme in many of the countries, which lead to the formation of organizations like United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Women's

4.5.8 It observed that gender inequality remains pervasive world wide tends to lower the productivity and efficiency of labor in households and nation's economy intensifying unequal distribution of resources. It also contributes to the non-monetary aspects of poverty like lack of security, opportunity and empowerment, which lower the quality of life both for men and women. While the females bear the largest and most direct costs of these inequalities, the costs cut broadly across the society, ultimately hindering development and poverty reduction.

4.5.9 Despite constitutional and statutory efforts for empowerment of women in the political sphere it has remained marginal not only in the Indian context but also globally.

In India the state sponsored affirmative action to increase participation and representation in public life, has been attempted with varied results. It is commonly referred to as reservation and compensatory or protective legislation meant to bring them into the mainstream. Another positive initiative is the notion of Self-Help-Groups (SHGs), which play a crucial social and economic role in women. Through SHGs the women and girls affected by poverty, illiteracy, discrimination and exploitation are uplifted through of creation of self-employment and income generating opportunities. Besides, incentives have been provided for larger enrolment of girls in schools and Institutes of higher learning. The percentage of literacy has risen and more girls are enrolled in technical education like medicine, engineering, management etc and are proving their mettle in this competitive scenario.

4.5.10 A survey by Joint Women's Programme published in Oct 1986, exposed the linkage between prostitution, unemployment and illiteracy and would be a sad proposition if India figures in the list of countries known for 'sex tourism'. Until its amendment in 1986, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girl's Act SITA, held prostitute as a 'Criminal'.

4.5.11 KC's endeavors reflected the same human-centric aspects and were in tune with the MDGs like: Gender Equality, Women Empowerment, Maternal Mortality and health and Child Mortality and health and women's education as can be perceived from her Gender concerns and responses which were relevant to the times. A parallel can be drawn between these two periods: early 20th century and the early 21st. In the 21st century the UNO has set some goals and envisioned certain parameters to evaluate the progress made by nations in terms of human development. These goals reflect the vision of KC and AIWC which were perceived about 8 decades ago. The UN General Assembly adopted Millennium Declaration Goals (MDGs) in September 2000. All 191 countries including India pledged towards meeting MDGs up to 2015. The 8 goals and specific targets have been targeted for their limitations. Out of the 8 Goals, 2 Goals are Gender specific: a. Gender Equality and empower women (MDG 3), and b. Improve maternal health (MDG 5). The India's country Report 2005, acknowledges that the goals are interlinked and gender equality is a vital aspect of each. India's rank in the 'Human Development Index' (HDI) formulated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is discouraging and India occupies 127th position among 177 countries in 2005. India's maternal mortality ratio (MMR) is currently among the highest in the world. According to MDG 5, the MMR has to be reduced to 109 by 2015 from 437 deaths per

1, 00,000 live births in 1991. In the sphere of education at the beginning of decade the female to male ratios were: 78:100 in Primary Education, 63:100 in Secondary Education and 58:100 in Higher Education.

Notes

1. 'Harijan', 12 December 1934.
2. Initiation of a student into studentship according to Hindu practices.
3. The three religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam

4. 'Kanyadana'-marriage of a girl was conceived as a 'dana' or a religious gift.
5. In the Vedic times the word Varna was used to distinguish groups in society based on vocations
6. The derogatory practice of making a widow to ascend the funeral pyre of the dead husband and immolate herself.
7. From a Paper read at Seminar on 'Jawaharlal Nehru and India's Quest for a Secular Identity', New Delhi, 12 April 1987.)
8. The industrial women laborers in Madurai were granted maternity leave of 6 weeks after KC and Mrs Cousins fought for the rights of the labourers.
9. See Geraldine Forbes's 'Women in Modern India' 1996.
10. (Jawaharlal Nehru, selected works,, Vol. 5, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1972)(Nanda, 2002:38-39
11. (presidential speech, AIWC, April 1944)
12. (AIWC Files 1927).

Chapter 5

Role in National Resurgence and Nation Building

- 5.1 In the Nation's Freedom Struggle (Salt Satyagraha and Quit India Movement)
- 5.2. A Youth Icon
- 5.3. Uplifting the Downtrodden: Socialist, Agenda, Labour Union Peasants Movements and Trade Union.
- 5.4. An Encounter with the Princely States.
- 5.5 Refugee Rehabilitation and Co-operative Movement
- 5.6 Consumer Protection.

Role in National Resurgence and Nation Building

KC was a Ramon Magsaysay awardee for community Leadership for the year 1966. The Award read, “Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay has contributed in building modern India. Although born in a tradition-ridden society she has through her endeavors manifested that in public life a woman can attain a status equal to that of man and can create beauty through her soft sentiments (Shivarudrappa, 2007: 33).

By the year 1966 KC had put her best efforts in all the spheres of her activity especially her pro-Indian endeavors were aimed at the emancipation of the downtrodden and empowerment of the dispossessed. In this Chapter I examine KC's political involvement, initiatives and participation in the backdrop of formulation of her mission concepts. Her personal chronicles and those of the nation became one during those decades from around 1919 to 1947. The national agenda was intertwined so closely with her personal life as to be at times indistinguishable from one another. Her involvement in nation building and political affairs although difficult to compartmentalize, have been categorized into sections like ‘Fight for freedom’, Socialist Agenda and other movements, refugee rehabilitation and cooperative movement¹, Youth activities, Consumer Rights’ Protection. Her plunge into the freedom struggle, through the gateway of Seva Dal explains her being called a ‘social activist’ rather than ‘a political freedom fighter’ clamoring for positions of power after 1947. She reveals her perception of Politics as: “I never had any desire for a political career” she declared in magazine *Celebrity* in 1984 when she was going to be 82. “It never has been my medium of expression. I

mean I am aware of Politics, I can analyze, I can argue because after all for fifty years I have been in Politics...but holding a political office could never be my forte...Suppose you are cut out to be a singer, and asked to work in a telephone factory?" (Narasimhan, 1999: 178)

KC was exposed to the issues of oppression of the lower castes, the exploitation and subjugation of women and the political changes taking place in the wake of colonial rule in India during her pre-marriage days and to stalwarts of freedom struggle at her house in Mangalore and at Pune.

5.1 In the Nation's Freedom Struggle (1919-1947)

KC participation in freedom struggle began on 6th April 1919, when she was 16 and attended a Satyagraha Sabha addressed by Gandhiji in Bombay. She sold copies of his banned books '*Hind Swaraj*' and '*Sarvodaya*' considered as seditious literature. Srinivas Shastri of 'Servants of India Society', a Congress leader and orator initiated her at Mangalore into the field of oratory when she delivered her maiden speech.

In 1924 KC enlisted herself in the Hindustan Seva Dal; pledged to fight till India became free and got trained under Dr Hardikar as a Seva Dal volunteer. In the same year she served as a volunteer in Belgaum Congress Session presided over by Gandhiji. Her convictions strengthened by the experiences of hardships and physical inconveniences at the Belgaum Congress session. She was impacted by Gandhiji's appeal for simplicity, austerity. Sardar Venkataramaiah the peasant leader recounts that the Desh Sevika Sangh² found some reason or other to decry Seva Dal, objecting to martial drill by 'uniformed women.' KC's biographer Reena Nanda states that KC's association with Seva Dal and its image of dandas and military drill was another reason for Gandhi's unfavorable opinion of her (Nanda, 2002 :78). Freedom fighter Aruna Asaf Ali writes, "The civil disobedience movement saw the emergence of the Hindustani Seva Dal as the volunteer corps of the Congress. It had a women's wing, of which Kamaladevi later became the 'General Officer

Commanding'. Women volunteers in Bombay went through rigorous exercises and route marches as part of their training in a camp at Borivili. This led to anxious questions in the British Parliament about a "Women's army" being raised in India. The local authorities closed down the camp and banned the Seva Dal.' (Asaf Ali, 1991 :103 Dr. Suratkal Srinivasa Rao, a retired doctor, states that HC and KC used to make thread from cotton. They used to handover the thread and again collect cotton from the 'Nooluva, Neyuva Mattu Badge Kelsada Tharagathi', which was adjacent to Tilak School in Mangalore. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 1 :422) He further records that in 1924 Congress Session in Belgaum, KC and HC traveled with him to attend it as volunteers.

5.1.1 Her nationalistic concerns multiplied with her involvement extending to other fields besides the Seva Dal. In 1926 when Mrs. Cousins motivated KC to contest election from Madras State Provincial Legislative Council, at a time when property ownership was the eligibility criterion for contesting, KC contested and lost the election by 55 votes. Nevertheless, on the occasion of closing of the AIWC at Pune KC was made the General Secretary of the Conference. Sarojini Naidu acknowledges KC's caliber as, 'Her spectacular performance blazed a new trail for Indian womanhood. We should however congratulate ourselves on that unhappy result (KC's defeat in the elections), for the loss of one state now means the gain of the entire country.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :83). At the Madras Session in 1927 as Women's in-charge of the Seva Dal KC initiated 'Orange Brigade', a new Dress code for women volunteers. Her organizing abilities got her elected to the All India Congress Committee (AICC) in 1928. She was also elected Secretary of the 'Indian Social Reform Conference' (ISRC) of which the President was Mr. K. Natarajan, a noted social worker and editor of Indian Social Reform', a respected weekly. Her call to the youth and women of the country was answered resulting in hundreds being drawn into the movement.

Salt Satyagraha (1930)

5.1.2. Salt Satyagraha was one very significant event in the Indian freedom struggle. Besides KC's own narration of the event I attempt a juxtaposition of it by her biographers like Jamila Brijbhushan, Shakuntala Narasimhan and Reena Nanda.

“On 26 January 1930, KC...clung to the tricolour in order to protect it. Blows rained on her as she stood like a rock to protect the flag (from dishonor), bleeding profusely. Again in April 1930, KC...making salt on portable stoves at the Chowpatty sands, KC received a lathi blow on her back. She fell on the blazing coals and received severe burn injuries, but...preferred continuing to defy the Salt Law...” R. Venkataramana (Narasimhan, :1999:32).³

Her involvement in India's freedom struggle manifests itself in the views aired by the former president of India.

The Congress Working Committee met in Ahmedabad in 1930 to finalize the blue print of 'Direct Action' by which Gandhiji meant 'Salt Satyagraha'. The dilemma experienced by KC on the issue of an insignificant thing like salt being used as a weapon to sensitize the British was shared by many other Indian leaders. Aruna Asaf Ali quotes KC to express that dilemma as: “we had always thought that a revolution was a big uprising of the people” and therefore wondered “how this could be brought about by breaking the salt laws...” (Asaf Ali, 1991:101) A Salt Commission's recommendation to levy tax on Indian Salt to make it expensive to make room for English Salt was the core which Gandhiji used as a strategy for his Satyagraha. Gandhiji's walk on foot from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, of 240 miles began on 14th March and ended on 5th April. KC rushed to the place where Gandhiji was in his 'Dandi March' and persuaded him to allow women to participate in the Salt Satyagraha. KC brought the message

for Indian Women from Bapu which read, "All may regard this as the word from me that all are free and those who are ready, are expected to start mass Civil Disobedience regarding the Salt Law from April 6th. (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :150-151). KC's objective in meeting Gandhiji was regarding women's participation in Salt Satyagraha'. She viewed this as an opportunity for women to unitedly participate towards a national cause. Through women's participation in the Salt Satyagraha as a nationalist concern KC was aiming their emancipation.

5.1.3 KC was in the Frontline Unit, which formally broke the Salt Law in public in Bombay city, which comprised 7 persons, five men and two women. The women were KC and Avantikabai Gokhale, a well-known social worker. KC made packets of illegal salt and sold at Bombay Share Bazaar. It is reported that the first packet fetched Rs 50/ and the sale proceeds were up to about Rs 4000/ She was immediately conveyed to the Trading Ring where she was cheered with cries of Mahatmaji ki Jai' (Brijbhushan, 1976: 64) The April 20 issue of *The Bombay Chronicle* reported that a sum of Rs 75,000/ had been collected by the Congress Committee through the sale of contraband salt in packets, many of them bearing the legend printed prominently in red "Gandhi Salt, price: 6 months' jail". Out of 75,000/, Rs 25,000/ was from the sale by volunteers among the general public while about Rs 50,000/ was from donations collected by KC by way of auction in the cotton share and other markets. KC attempted to sell this 'salt of Freedom'; Salt of Liberty' within the precincts of the High Court itself.

In the wake of Gandhiji's arrest on May 5 a two-mile long procession was organized. KC met Abbas Tyabji and decided that the Bombay Satyagrahis be trained and disciplined during the next 10 days. Thereafter, contingents of fifty or a hundred would join Mr Tyabji at Dharasana everyday if the said training could not be completed by Mr Tyabji's original batch of volunteers. Although '*The Bombay Chronicle*' (TBC) of May 11th reported

it, the British made no efforts to stop her from carrying on her efforts. (Brijbhushan, 1976 :65)

5.1.4 In her article '*Women of India*' written for the composite work published under the National Council of Women in India, KC writes, 'Once a tiny package fetched as much as Rs 10,000/ and each man, as he rolled out the notes with the careless ease of the wealthy, smiled to himself, for he knew that around the corner waited the law.' (Brijbhushan, 1976: 65) A mass raid on the salt pans of just outside Bombay City (Wadala) was planned with precision by KC and her colleagues." I was sure", KC writes: "that no force, not even machine guns could stop this raid." (Brijbhushan, 1976: 66-67) KC's comment is indicative of Salt Satyagraha as a political campaign of enormous magnitude for the Indian women.

"This was their first appearance in any modern militant political campaign ...As I attached my name to the pledge to devote myself to my country's freedom battle, my hand shook a little... I felt I was tracing not the letters of my name but recording a historic event." (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 152-153)

KC's narration of Salt Satyagraha is lively and realistic:

"We were still guarding our pans. The blows now rained like a blinding shower. They were directed either at the head or the legs, designed in either case to swiftly and effectively fell the people to the ground, and clear a pathways to the pans. I felt sick as I was caught a youngster near me with cracked skull. A rough boot pushed on the burning coals..." (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 154)

"I found it easy enough to lure the lawyers into the salt bargains. Then I had my final inspiration. With a beating heart I tiptoed into the 'judges' Sanctuary! They sat in their imposing wigs and gowns, high symbols of law and order. 'Won't you buy my Salt of Freedom? Surely you won't reject these

magic grains' and I held out the packets to them." The group of planners was called as the war council. It decided to sit through the night. As Commander of the women volunteers KC had to finalize the plan the same night by working out the details. She handed them to one of her colleagues... The Bombay seaside spectacle was but symbolic of the entire country, which had become transformed into a battlefield with breaking of iniquitous laws(Chattopadhyay, 1986: 154-157).

5.1.5. On May 4th after Bapu's arrest KC led a huge protest march and was named 'Dictator' for her active involvement in Salt Satyagraha. She had planned a procession to Wadala Sea beach, which she could not do. Her son 7 year old Ram did in her place. KC asked the judge to give up his job and join her in selling the salt. KC was arrested and was sentenced to 1-year simple imprisonment and lodged at Yeravada jail where Sarojini Naidu was lodged. The judge's pronouncement, 'I am obliged to treat your case with severity for you have been responsible in making more people break the law than any other single individual', is self-explanatory about KC's involvement in Salt Satyagraha. In Bombay, KC opened a Swadeshi Bazar at Ghatkopar where Indian made goods were sold. (Brijbhushan,1976: 69)

Freedom fighter Aruna Asaf Ali states in her book that Kamaladevi recalled: "I was represented by my son of seven who proudly carried the banner and engaged in the drama of his first battle" (Asaf Ali,1991 :101). The picture of KC and Ram Chattopadhyay taken before the arrest, appeared in TBC of June 1st, 1930. When KC planned to raid the Wadala Salt pans of Bombay, she had a premonition about her own arrest. Side by side other offensive programmes were launched for intensive boycott of foreign cloth and liquor shops through picketing of such shops. In Salt Satyagraha, the Seva Dal volunteers' and women's participation was well received and women proved to be good Dictators, Organizers, Captains, picketers, messengers and a whole lot of things. The Seva Dal had emerged from this Satyagraha cauldron as

a commanding factor in the struggle. The Seva Dal volunteers at Belgaum had reached comparatively the highest watermark in efficiency.

5.1.6 After her release in 1931, KC was put in charge of the Seva Dal volunteers. The Seva Dal had been taken over by the Indian National Congress and KC was appointed General Officer commanding of the Women's Wing. The Congress President Sardar Vallabhai Patel assigned the job of training the sevikas to KC and an All India National Camp was organized to train instructors who in turn would train the women in their own regions. KC took the assistance of Sophia Somji of Khoja family in Bombay, who had functioned as a 'Dictator' in the Salt Satyagraha at Bombay. The women selected were between 16 and 45 years of age. A blanket ban flung over every non-governmental body from the National Congress, educational institutions, hospitals, libraries, social welfare bodies, covered the Seva Dal too. (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 169-170)

5.1.7 When KC defied the ban by taking out a procession, as a person who was 'without any ostensible means of livelihood and a source of danger to Society'⁴ and therefore logically placed in 'C' class prison. (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 170) It was Arthur Road Women's Quarters in the jail. The inmates were huddled with ordinary criminals and were forbidden to wear underwear. When she led the revolting group, drafted and submitted a memorandum of grievances to the prison visitors' Committee, she was warned of fanning revolt and was shifted to a barrack at the back, where Mirabehn was lodged, which was a 'A' Class barrack.. Mirabehn records in her autobiography, '*The spirit's pilgrimage*': "the Socialist leader Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, looking the picture of artistic beauty was brought to our jail...But she also was locked up at night as a 'B' class prisoner and put into jail clothes. Kamaladevi and I ... voiced to the Superintendent some of their grievances..." (Brijbhushan, 1976: 71) The wretched condition of prison portrayed by Mirabehn reflects the severe inconveniences borne by the freedom fighters during the struggle. KC describes the surroundings of the

jail as stinking with carcasses of animals and by the side were labourers' latrines with defective water drainage with the sewer gas coming back the drains with every high tide. KC was then shifted to Hindalga women's jail in Belgaum where it was winter at its height. With no proper nutrition or medical attention, she developed Jaundice, which worsened and became acute. Kamakoti, 'B' Class prisoner and daughter of Kamaksha Nataraja, the editor of *Social Reformer*, and president of ISRC pressed for better medical care to KC. She collected a few pre-requisites for setting up a hospital and Mridula Sarabhai, KC's jail inmate assured to donate expensive items for hospital. KC's narrative manifests the deep impact Gandhi's movement had made on the poor women of the North Canara region. She states: "I conversed with the women from...Sirsi-Siddapur and Ankola of Uttara Kannada district where a powerful no-tax campaign had led to severe repression and large scale arrests... These were the poorest women ..."She could have intimate dialogue with because she conversed with them in Kannada. (Chattopadhyay, 1976: 175). Ranga Rao Talcherkar Freedom fighter from Belgaum recollects that in 1930 Salt Satyagraha there was an unprecedented and severe lathicharge at Mangalore.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 1 :410)

Quit India Movement (1942)

5.1.8 KC and other Socialists were meeting daily at the houses of Yusuf Meherally or Purushottam Tricum Das in Bombay to finalize their programme, which included mass strikes, boycotts and severance of communication links like railways, telegraph lines. KC addressed the important students' body, "The Bombay Students' Union on 6 August 1942, which the Bombay CID reported, 'salvaged the students from the Communists for the Congress cause."

At Bangalore, where KC arrived at one of her secret hideouts, already had a revolution on. There was complete hartal in Bangalore and Hubli ; Binny mills, the chemical works and even HAL, the war suppliers were on strike. (Nanda, 2002, :95) When Gandhiji announced Quit India Movement,

KC decided to be at Bangalore. Secretly she entered Bangalore as she had done considerable groundwork there. Many freedom fighters from Karnataka have chronicled the endeavors of KC in Quit India Movement. I attempt here to record the experiences of her associates who either participated or were first hand witnesses to this event in terms of KC's participation. Quit India like Salt Satyagraha was no less significant rather it was an ultimatum to the British to leave India forthwith. KC who was quite acquainted with Bangalore had been guiding workers and students in Bangalore from secret hideouts. (Kamat, 1988: 53) KC came and stayed in Bangalore and as "she was underground moved like mercury from place to place. She was trying to incite and guide labourers, students and women for organizing Satyagraha, sabotage and propaganda work. But she was soon arrested in September. H.S. Doreswamy..."⁵ In addition to KC, there were other persons on whom there were warrants such as A.G. Ramachandra Rao, K.A. Venkataramaiah and many other visiting leaders." (Kamat, 1988: 79) They successfully organized subversion work implemented by regular bands of full time workers who had left their place of profession and some had gone underground and were staying together in batches implementing preplanned programmes at times uniform ones by each batch on specified day or week which was termed as 'Karnataka Pattern' 81 With arrest of KC on the 5th September, some grand plan of continuing strike for long appears to have failed. She had collected Rs. 50,000 in Bangalore as made known to the police by reliable congress workers but the money was perhaps not utilized.⁶ (Kamat, 1988: 93). But the threat of students' agitation and political unrest was so serious that the famous Dasara procession or Jambu Sawari at Mysore was cancelled during the year which was an unprecedented happening. (Kamat, 1988 :102) Student movement was equally strong in Bangalore...KC who had stayed in Bangalore from the beginning till her arrest on 6th September had been also meeting students at underground jaunts and guiding them. Nagaraj, a student states that: "Vasantaiah, will be touring always from place to place and the student's

federation meets his expenses. Only myself, Vasantaiah and Prabhudev met KC. I do feel for her arrest since she was of great help to the movement and would have done a lot had she not been arrested” reads the statement of student K.D.Nagaraj to the police. The police described Nagaraj as the “Fifth leader in the Northern Sector Malleshwaram” and arrested on 9 September 1942. This indicates that the city had been divided for the purpose of the movement into various sectors and regular leaders to take charge of the movement had been fixed for the purpose. (Kamat, 1988 :105)

5.1.9. V.S. Narayana Rao, eminent journalist and publisher recalls, “Usually we used to hold meetings after 8 pm. KC who never missed a single meeting came to my Malleshwaram house even though it used to be too late.”(Sampalli, 1992 : 78) KC slipped off to Bangalore quietly and arrived at one of the secret hideouts. Sardar K.A. Venkataramaiah, the leader of the Karnataka No- Tax Campaign Satyagraha (1930-32) recalls how KC “moved like mercury from one secret hideout to the other” discussing plans and giving directions, which proved, of great help to the sabotage movement. The editor of ‘Kannada Prabha’, a reputed Kannada newspaper, Khadri Shamanna writes that on 26 January 1943 the inmates of the Bangalore Central Jail took a pledge for independence in the jail premises when he and KC were present in the Jail and points out that KC was familiar with the student community in Bangalore.⁷

5.1.10 N. Upendra Naik of Mangalore, who was imprisoned and lodged in Bellary’s Alipur jail in Quit India Movement from 9 November 1942 to 28 September 1943, writes that in 1941 Congress District Council President was T.R. Nesvi and Legislative workers’ Council Convention President was K.A. Venkataramaiah and the President of the Women’s Wing was KC. (Kamat, Dist DK 1974-75 Vol 1 :483) Freedom fighter M.D. Adhikari of Varang in Karakala Taluk, states that he was closely associated with KC, U. Srinivasa Mallya, the President of Karnataka Taluk Congress Committee, K.K.

Shetty, and K. Tingalaya (Kamat, Dist DK 1974-75 Vol 1 :509) He calls KC as being of international eminence and the only woman admired by seniors for her organizational ability, intelligence, ideology and selfless service. P.Vasudev Prabhu of Udupi who participated in Salt Satyagraha mentions that on 20/3/1931, KC, Karnadu Sadashivarayaru and H. Ramaray Mallya were given a warm welcome at Udupi. (Kamat, Dist DK 1974-75 Vol 1 :542)

T.Siddalingaiah⁸ recounts that in 1942, Quit India Movement meetings, processions, lathi charge, firing and famishments were common day occurrences and there were about 2,000 Satyagrahis in the Cental Jail. Among very prominent were KC, Isuru Patriots (revolutionaries sent to Andamans for 4 years). T.S. Shivram. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :85) V.S. Narayan Rao, book seller, Bangalore recounts that he read magazines like: *The Hindu*, *Daily Post*, *New India*, *Amrit Bazar*, *Vritanta patrika*, *Sampadabhyudaya*. He also listened to speeches of National leaders like Dr. Annie Besant, KC, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah and many others. ((Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :89). He further states that, and Sirsi Siddapur and Ankola in Karwar District (U K) and Hirekerur Taluk in Dharwar district- took part in No-Tax Campaign, 'Agrarian Movement' like that of Badmani in Bardoli district in Gujarat. No-Tax Campaign (1931 and 1933). (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2: 93)

5.1.11 J. Lingaiah an employee of Minerva Mills in Bangalore from 1932 to 1941 recounts that when the labourers of Bangalore mills, Binny mill and Shri Krishna Weaving factory had gone on a strike. He had heard the speeches of KC who had come to the Bangalore for election campaign of Mysore Congress. KC's entry was banned by the government and he says that this was one of the reasons which inspired him to join Congress in 1940. ((Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :160)

Kunthala Sethu Rao, a student of Maharani College, Bangalore, who participated in Quit India Movement writes that KC and Ratnamma Madhav Rao sent word to her from jail to avoid arrest and continue the Quit India

Movement. Kuntala worked as a messenger between the labour leaders and KC, who was then in Central jail. ((Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :181-182) Smt Meenakshi Govind Bhat, a student who also participated in Quit India Movement in 1942 and the students like Ponnamma of Kodagu, Kuntala and Vimala of Bangalore and 30 students of Vani Vilas School were arrested while in procession and taken to Central jail and kept for a week when KC was lodged there in the wake of Quit India Movement. Besides these, there were a large number of other students. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :243). Nitturu Srinivasa Rao⁹ states that when in 1942, all were arrested he and H.R.Venkataramaiah looked after the office work. KC stayed at a house in N.R. Colony and continued her Satyagraha at Bangalore and was arrested.(1942)(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :748)

5.1.12 K.R. Sridhar Murthy, states that he had made a 'Tom Tom' that KC, would hoist the flag in the jail premises on 26/1/1942. Though KC was present in the women's barrack she was unaware of this. About 800 people had assembled for the flag hoisting ceremony. When Sridhar Murthy marched forward, the Jailor Mr. Amir stopped them and took out his revolver and threatened to shoot if they moved one step further. But when Sridhar Murthy moved forward, Amir threw down his revolver and took Sridhar Murthy to officer's chamber. Shri V.S. Narayana Rao, N. Keshav Iyengar mediated and it was decided that Sridhar Murthy would go to KC and bring her for flag hoisting.(Kamat, 1974-75Dist Bang Vol 3 : 753-754) Aruna Asaf Ali writes that the Quit India Movement in Karnataka resulted in liberation of several areas and replacement there of the alien regime by people's rules. The peasantry played a leading role in this struggle. She writes that in Karnataka in the Dharwar district ' Patri Sarkar' functioned till the middle of 1945, under the leadership of Nana Patil. (Asaf Ali, 1991: 140)

Fundamental Rights Resolution (1931)

5.1.13 As regards the Fundamental Rights Resolution, Nalinaksh Sanyal , an active youth worker of Bengal had a draft which he placed before

KC and others to debate on concrete propositions. The core of the draft ultimately formed the basis of the Fundamental Rights Resolution of the Congress. As KC was a member of the All India Congress Committee she was asked to hand it over to the Pandit Nehru, the then General Secretary. KC points out at the confusion over the authorship of the 'Fundamental Rights Resolution' draft, as Nehru was not to divulge it. Nevertheless he could not go beyond firmly denying the authorship to M.N. Roy. (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 162)

Solitary Confinement (1933)

5.1.14. KC got a call from Gandhiji and was in Sevagram at Wardha for a small intimate discussion organized on 'Nai Talim' or New Education. To promote his socio-economic ideas through his constructive program, Gandhiji had set up a village industries complex there, which was presided over by J.C. Kumarappa. It included use of solar energy, biogas, cultivation of food through use of natural manure, use of smokeless choola for women etc. He stressed basic education for all round development of the growing child through free functioning of all its organs and faculties. After discussing Ram's education with Gandhiji KC was on her way to Mangalore. At Wardha station while boarding the train for Madras she met Kaleshwar Rao, a congressman from Andhra. On being asked by him to break journey at Vijayawada to spend sometime before proceeding, KC visited Kaleshwar Rao's village. The villagers asked KC to deliver a speech. Before KC could explain to the villagers that it was not a political mission Kaleshwar Rao and KC were arrested. They were charged that they attempted to create disaffection and break the peace. Kaleshwar Rao, himself a lawyer got them released. They were rearrested under a detention law and interned. As the arrest had been made in the Madras Presidency, KC was lodged in the Women's jail in Vellore. During summer Vellore was severely hot and dry which affected KC's health. It was a sentence of 1 year of solitary confinement. She became unconscious twice and she was released on medical grounds at the end of the year.

India's Voice in the US (1939-1941)

5.1.15 KC's role in forming positive opinion about India's independence has been one more significant but lesser known aspect, which was on her nationalist agenda. During her 18 months' stay in the US she made India's case stronger in terms of projecting India's freedom struggle in the western world. KC delivered speeches; attended meetings covered by heads and held interactions with people in the USA. KC's words were well taken both by the leaders and the people alike. Dr. Haridas, T. Mazumadar,¹⁰ mentions KC as one who made a nationwide tour of America advocating freedom for India. "It may be noted", he says, 'that American audiences, without exception, enthusiastically received the patriotic message of India's distinguished sons and daughters.' (Brijbhushan, 1976: 89)

TBC of June 17, 1940, datelined New York May 1, said, 'since the beginning of the year Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay has covered a wide area in the US including the mid-West and South. She was invited to address the conference on cause and cure of war at Washington and was one of the guest speakers at a banquet where Mrs. Roosevelt and other well known personalities also spoke. She represented the East at an International Radio symposium organized by the National Broadcasting Company at which she spoke on the special contribution Indian women were making to the cause of peace. Likewise she was the chief guest speaker at a luncheon given by the International Disarmament Committee in Washington. At a meeting of the National Federation of University Women, where she was the guest speaker there was a such a huge turnout that people had to be turned away for lack of space...During her stay in Washington, Mrs. KC was invited to the White House for tea with Mrs. Roosevelt.' President Roosevelt desired to see India free and implied that he had failed to carry conviction with the British. KC was invited to his inauguration when Roosevelt was elected President for the third time. Various foreign ambassadors including Lord Lothian, the British

Ambassador to US and Turkey and Chinese Ambassador, several Congress members including the Supreme Court judges Mr. Hugh Black and MR. Felix Frankfurter invited her.

Again TBC reported, 'some of her time in Washington was spent in studying the work of various Government departments such as the Children's Bureau, women's Bureau, and the Home Economic Section. A pleasant surprise to Mrs. Kamaladevi was an invitation to address all the women employees in the Labour Department in the capital on the subject of women in India. And on the invitation of the Department of Agriculture she visited some of the rural projects of the New Deal...At Kansas University she delivered the Convocation Address. She covered areas in the South where Indian speakers have rarely penetrated. In fact she was the first Indian many of her audiences had ever seen.' (Brijbhushan, 1976: 90-91)

"Before church gatherings, she spoke not only of the Indian struggle but also of the political implications of the missionary movement in India... In recent weeks Mrs. KC has been much in demand in literary circles to speak as well as to give readings of Indian poetry... She also gave a radio broadcast on the same subject... A notable feature of her visit has been the enthusiastic and popular ovation KC has received from the Negro Community.

Which has found very practical inspiration from her message. She has been their guest, often living in the heart of their communities during her visit to the South, a daring and unusual procedure because of the strong prejudices against Negroes in that part of the Country. Mrs. KC confesses to strange experiences on those occasions. Coming close to the Negro groups, she has considerably endorsed India to these struggling people. Kamaladevi's trip has been such a sweeping success. She has cultivated and built up many useful contacts. She is being very much pressed to extend her stay in the US. The problems of the poor farmers known as share-croppers, elicited her keen interest" (Brijbhushan, 1976: 91)

A well known social figure of Hollywood; Hilda Wiesrbun Boulter, an American friend wrote an article in TBC in 1941:

“After 18 months in the US she left many admirers here ... She carried on a voluminous correspondence she wrote several articles while here, doing her own typing by the hunt and peck system.” (Brijbhushan, 1976: 94)

American opinion was for Indian freedom and the Indian League of America, which brought together a variety of Indians living in America, did campaigning extensively. The importance of India to the Allies was realized after Pearl Harbour in December 1941 and Japanese advance in Asia. On February 15, 1942, Singapore surrendered to the Japanese and on March 8, Rangoon fell, creating US an increasing demand that the British Government came to terms with Indian nationalist leaders. President Roosevelt, who took a personal interest in the cause of India's Freedom, sent a long cable to Churchill on the eve of the announcement of the Cripps Mission.

In the world Community (1939-41& 1955)

5.1.16 In India at Tripura Congress Session, a delegation from Egypt arrived to meet Gandhiji. He told them about KC, ‘You should meet this lady, and she is interested in your freedom struggle and has been relating the story to the Indian people.’ KC took advantage of the invitation from Egypt to meet freedom fighters there fighting against imperialism. KC meetings with King Abdullah of Trans Jordan, Abdullah Talel, the Governor of the old city of Jerusalem and Ahmed Hussain, the President of the Egyptian Socialist Party have been chronicled by her in *Memoirs*. Through these interactions she was attempting to comprehend serious issues in the world affairs. KC visited Ethiopia the only territory to have remained free from imperialism. She visited the capital of Ethiopia Adis Ababa and visited the graves of Indian Jawans (60,000) and paid homage to them. On board the Dutch ship, KC found that Dutch colonialism was more severe than English.

During her American Sojourn KC took 2 trips to Canada. The First visit passed off peacefully but during her 2nd visit to Vancouver the British Government had alerted Canadian authorities. At Vancouver the Immigration Officer disallowed her from entering the city. KC sat on a bench and refused to move. She contacted her friends and by evening she was received by the Mayor and his wife. Next day the Mayor arranged a party in her honor which is a mention worthy fact. Another mention worthy episode was about Lord Duff Cooper Britain's Secretary for Foreign Affairs who was in America to persuade Americans to enter the war on the side of the Allies. During one of his lectures, KC stood up to ask a few rather discomfoting questions to him. When asked whether he would be good enough to specify his country's real objectives in fighting the war and what England meant to do about India, there was laughter from the audience. Embarrassed Duff Cooper mumbled something inaudible and had to be whisked away hurriedly.

Her stance about Japanese Imperialism is revealed in an article published in TBC of 2 November 1941 entitled '*Paradox of the Far East*' written by a special correspondent who quotes KC, 'everywhere I made the Indian point of view clear. As long as Japan remained an aggressor and continued the war with China, India would have no sympathy with Japan. India stood against all aggression and imperialist expansionism.' She stood by the Chinese in their struggle to defend the freedom of their country. Reacting to the so-called Japanese New Order in Asia she states: "It is no different from rapacious imperialism...Patriarchal Imperialism! Well, that is the Japanese New Order." Japanese military in China refused her entry. The Tokyo Foreign Office confessed itself helpless. Her open expression of sympathy with free China had earned her this. She states: "No Foreign power probably ever held a conquered country so unrealistically as Japan holds China today." KC went to Nanking from Shanghai and then to Chunking. From Chunking she traveled to Hongkong where she was given a prohibitory order, which she tore to pieces. At Chunking she met Chiang-Kai-Shek, Mao-Tse-Tung and

Chau-En-Lai. She studied the problems of China and the organizations that were attempting to solve them. The Chinese Industrial Co operatives caught her attention and stayed in her mind to be used as a reference when she set up the Indian Cooperative Union. Later, her experiences, as one of the very few Indians to have visited China during this critical period of its history, appeared in the form of articles and a book.

In 1951, after the Second World War, 'World Political Unification Conference' was held at Rome. KC represented India at Rome and met pope. In 1950-51, Government of India sent KC to British colonies in Africa. Nehru offered her to represent India on the Human Rights Commission. KC sat for 3 months at Geneva for the Human Rights Commission work. She was not happy with it. KC toured East Africa and met Jomo Kenyata in 1951. Her role in building the base for the congress party in the princely states and her efforts to shape public opinion in the USA show her nationalistic fervor.

5.2 A Youth Icon

5.2.1 Yusuf Meherally, a rising youth leader in Bombay approached KC to join the youth Movement and her election as President of the Youth Congress Session at Ahmedabad on December 14, 1929 (Brijbhushan, 1976: 55) explains her zealous efforts to enthuse the youth to plunge into the liberation struggle. After her release in 1931, she was invited to Srilanka to preside over the Youth Conference. After Karachi Session, the Youth League in Jaffna in Sri Lanka organized a youth congress as the Indian Youth Movement stirred them. KC stressed that independence was the basic need the youth had to work for. Youth Leagues sprang up all over India. Some youths became suspicious of the Round Table Conference's outcome and kept up attacks as warnings, which were well meaning but irritating. To this Sardar Patel's strong reaction calling all youth utterly irresponsible' elicited a scathing response from KC which she expressed in an article published in the press. At Allah bad when KC went to see Gandhiji, he expressed his displeasure

at this sad episode. To this KC reaffirmed her stand by supporting the youth as, 'Youth is raw, impatient, it may be impulsive at times and lack mellowness that comes with maturity... I don't believe you claim harshness as a virtue, when an elder, experienced leader (Sardar Patel) maligns all youth labeling it as irresponsible, something within resents this insult' writes KC in her Memoirs. Besides, KC and her colleagues in the Youth League addressed the mill and Industrial Workers of Bombay to elicit support for the Swadeshi Movement. The meetings went on till midnight. KC says: "often the enthusiasm overflowed even into the early hours of the morning". (Narasimhan,1999 :52)

5.2 2. On 26 January 1930, at Azad Maidan, Bombay KC hoisted the flag. Under the influence of Virendra Chattopadhyay, she gave a call to the Youth League, "to wage a war against casteism, Communalism and Capitalist imperialist domination" which was considered as "inciting revolt, striking revolutionary fervor and unrest and providing Civil Disobedience." This incident led to cancellation of her passport in 1930. When KC was chairing the session, the Youth Conference adopted a resolution for Poorna Swaraj. 'The Bombay Chronicle' of January 26,1930 reported "For the last five days the Bombay Youth League has been daily holding mass meetings of youth so as to prepare for the Independence Day. The response has been as overwhelming as it is spontaneous." In her vociferous Presidential Speech she announced

"We are fond of holding up ourselves as ready for martyrdom, but when the time comes for breaking our necks we retreat and say, wait till the next blow. Each time the coward gets the better of it. Start Civil Disobedience, declare an independent republic, start a parallel Government, do it at any cost and sacrifice.'

KC, presided over the Youth Conference of the Bombay region resolved for 'total freedom'. The historic Lahore Session echoed the similar views in 1929, December, Ahmedabad (Adiga,1988 :3).

5.2.3 V.S. Narayan Rao, book seller, Bangalore He further recounts that he was impressed by leaders like Yusuf Meherally, KC and he along with a few youths who organized the Mysore Samasthan's Youth Convention and he was its first Secretary. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :92)

When Jayaprakash Narayan observed that Nehru was moving away from the Socialists he appealed to Nehru to do 'something constructive.' He wanted Nehru to encourage the labour, peasant, youth and student organisations .(Nanda,2002 : 89) Basruru.Subbanna Setty states that in 1934,.KC organized college and High School Union debating Societies. B.S. Setty was the secretary of School Debating Society in his high school in Mangalore. B.S. Setty was made the working council member of the Student's Union organized by KC and he borrowed books on Russian Revolution from KC and visited her house.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol2 :561) Jayaram Adiga a well known journalist reports in *Kannada Prabha* dated 8 january 1989 that Suryanath Kamat, historianKarnataka comments that KC had a unique ability to motivate hundreds of youths into participating in the struggles, movements and organizations.

At the Karachi Session KC was made to withdraw the resolution about the youth revolutionary Bhagat Singh alleging him a terrorist. "To me Bhagat Singh was one apart from the normal run 'terrorists' and I believed he deserved to be treated differently..." KC's support of Bhagat Singh is indicative of her rebellious streak.Dr Alabooru Nanjappa of Kottur writes that KC came to Kottur and inaugurated 'Karnataka Free Library' on... she addressed the High school students meeting started the 'Students' Union' for he was made the Secretary.(Kamat, 1974 Dist UK, Kodagu, DK, Dharwad, Bellary, Belgaum, Bijapur Vol 1 : 951)

5.3 Uplifting the Downtrodden

Socialist Agenda (1934-1948)

5.3.1. KC's evolution as a 'Social Activist' began with her choice of a Diploma course in sociology in Bedford College, London that was indicative of her intention to serve society rather than aspire for a gainful career. She got a good grounding in the approach to the different sections of society that developed in the slums and their varied needs. It proved immensely practical and transformed her into an efficient social worker. At Pune, KC met Servants of India Society (SIS) members. At Pune KC met Servants of India Society members. Gopal Krishna Gokhale first gave the idea of social service among them was G.K. Deodhar.¹¹ KC substantiates her stand on Socialism as, 'People in their ignorance merely regard socialism as a symbol of revolt against Gandhiji and, an indiscriminate importation of in assimilative western notions.' (Chattopadhyay, 1939 : 37)

5.3.2 At Madras National Congress, KC met Venkataraman of SIS, a devoted worker, who persuaded KC to become one of the Secretaries of the Social Reform Conference. The Session was presided over by K. Natarajan, a veteran national figure, the editor of 'Indian Social Reformer'. Through her work as Secretary, she became aware of its educative propaganda and establishment of fine institutions for women. (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :122) Her understanding of world affairs enhanced when she interacted with social activists when she attended various conferences like: 'International League for peace and Freedom' founded by Jane Adams at Prague in 1929; 'International Session of the League against Imperialism' at Frankfurt and met Virendra Chattopadhyay besides meeting Miss Molly Carrol, who specialized in Labour Law and Relations. She had to resign from ISRC and AIWC.

5.3.3 When KC came out of the Vellore Jail in October 1934, her leanings towards Marxism resulted in founding the Congress Socialist Party(CSP). CSP was formed in the prison cells of Nasik jail where Jayaprakash

Narayan, Minoo Masani, Yusuf Meherally, Acharya Narendra Dev, Purushottam Tricum Das were lodged (Shamanna, 1988 :4). Both Gandhi and Nehru supported the Party within the Congress. Gandhians challenged formation of CSP. The party's inaugural Session was held at Bombay on October 21 and October 22, 1934. In 1936 KC was elected President of the party at the Meerut Session. KC and Satyavati were drawn to the Marxist forces in Congress politics. Their personal experiences in the nationalist struggle convinced them that it was not only Swaraj but the future shape of Indian polity that they had to fight for. The formation of the CSP group was regarded as a threat by both the Congress and the Communists. The Communists shouted slogans against it called it a 'bourgeois Party'. (Nanda, 2002: 72)

5.3.4 CSP did not become a strong party because it was ideologically not homogenous. The founding members' Socialist Philosophy ranged from the 'Scientific Marxism' of JP and Acharya Narendra Dev; to the 'Social Fabianism' of Minoo Masani, the 'Democratic Socialism' of Ashok Mehta; to the 'Nationalist Radicalism' and 'Gandhism' of Achyut Patwardhan and KC (Nanda, 2002: 79).

5.3.5 KC invited JP to Karnataka to organize the CSP regional convention at Mangalore for which money was collected and JP's tour was extremely successful. KC brought a close associate of JP, Ramanand Mishra, a peasant leader of Bihar to Karnataka. KC and Ramanand Mishra were chief guests. Ramanand Mishra spoke in Hindi, which Khadri Shamanna translated into Kannada. The success of the convention boosted the confidence of KC and party workers. She relentlessly worked for 2 to 3 years for the growth of the Socialist Party in Karnataka. In 1948, the Socialist Party's National Working Committee met in Bangalore. KC and Yusuf Meherally, then Mayor of Bombay attended it. The violent tone of Socialist speeches alarmed Gandhiji but he declared that 'there need be no suspicion of the Socialist group...they rise in power...they have perfect right to do so.' (M.K. Gandhi, Collected

Works, Publications Division, New Delhi, 1958). Gandhiji was suspicious owing to their socialistic principles of class war and confiscation of private property. Although Gandhi differed from Socialists on several issues, Kamladevi states that, 'there was never hostility.' (Nanda, 2002 : 74)¹²

5.3.6 KC focused on awakening the peasants and workers to the evils of imperialism and Capitalism. She and other Socialists organized Socialist study circles, preparing Marxist Pamphlets, addressing rallies. She took charge of the Mangalore District Congress affairs and formed a Town Committee in December 1935. (Nanda, 2002 : 73) The Socialist propaganda was used by KPCC 'old guard' as proof of her opposition to their Gandhian policies. KC's letters to Hardikar reveal that the formation of the CSP had polarized the Congress ideologically and organizationally. Gandhi confirmed her allegations in his letter to Patel in December 1934. Gandhi wrote, he was "very unhappy about Karnataka ...we cannot go on paying money like that. Where is it to come from? ...little we can say in a place where there is someone like Gangadhar Rao."¹³ (Nanda, 2002 : 75-76)

5.3.7 The socialists met on 24 January 1936 at Meerut. There were 102 delegates and peasants who had come from nearby villages. Kamladevi presided and Satyavati was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Socialists gave important offices to KC and Satyavati to demonstrate serious support to Women's movement. (Nanda, 2002 : 79) KC opposed a doctrinaire Marxist ideology and was hesitant to admit communists into the party. But JP envisioned a 'United Left Front' and offered to admit communists into CSP. The Communists accepted the offer because their party had been banned since 1934..."Nehru nominated three Socialists to the Congress Working Committee. (Nanda, 2002 : 80) The Socialists' lone victory was with KC's proposal of amending CWC resolution abolishing the system of proportional representation in elections to the AICC. She declared that she did it not because she was a socialist but to ensure representation of every other minority group in the AICC.

5.3.8 The Lucknow Session of Congress betrayed conflicts in ideology between socialist ideology and the Congress right wing and their business allies. With right wing and business interests threatened on one side Nehru violated the tradition of nominating a woman to the CWC. KC was denied the membership in CWC on the advice of Gandhi. Nehru wanted to nominate KC because she was a woman socialist. In her autobiography KC attributes Gandhi's opposition towards her to a strongly worded article she had written while refuting Sardar Patel's charges against irresponsible Youth. KC's plain speaking to Vallabhai Patel led to her non-inclusion in the Congress Committee by Gandhiji in 1936. She had risen on her merit, not under the shadow of any prominent Congress personality, and she refused to be patronized. Although she was indifferent to success or positions, she confesses that when she was finally nominated by Nehru in 1946, she states, 'it might have been a thrill earlier, it had lost all its charm' by then (Nanda, 2002 :84)¹⁴ KC never held rancor for being denied a CWC membership by Gandhiji and her respect and faith in his leadership never wavered.

5.3.9 Socialists voted Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Congress in 1938 but realized he had not done any worth mentioning contribution to the Socialist cause. In 1939 the CSP voted en bloc to Subhas Bose and defeated Pattabhi Sitaramaiah. The CWC resigned to checkmate Bose; an official resolution was moved which made it mandatory to consult Gandhi before nominating the new CWC. Subhas Bose resigned, since his electoral victory was 'meaningless if I could not win the confidence of India's greatest man' (Nanda, 2002, : 89).

5.3.10 The CSP opposed the post war congress policy. The dual membership allowed to socialist was prohibited by amendment in the congress constitution. Consequently she had to battle the hostility and suspicion of Senior Congress leaders. (Nanda, 2002 : 96)

5.3.11 The trial of Subhas Bose's INA leaders in November 1945 at the Red Fort led to mass popular demonstrations. A strike by naval ratings

of the INS Talwar at Bombay 1946 spread to all naval bases all over the country. KC reveals the tremendous moral boosting impact they had on the contemporaries in a speech to the Socialist Conference at Gadag in June 1946. She described the INA and Royal Navy strikes as, 'New forces like mighty tributaries joining this mighty flood...One military arm under Subhas Chandra Bose dared to launch an offensive on the ruling power...the other 'loyal Indian Forces' patted on the back publicly-but kicked around' in the barracks has learned at last the true meaning of loyalty', KC states in *At the Crossroads* (Nanda, 2002 :99). In April 1946, Nehru offered positions to JP and Ram Manohar Lohia, but both refused. JP suggested KC's name and she was persuaded by JP into becoming in her own words, 'the Socialist Party's sacrificial goat offered to stifle Pandit Nehru's discomfiture.' (Nanda, 2002 : 99)

5.3.12 The cause behind disruption of CSP was the entry of Communists into the CSP, the members realized their mistake and considered that the expulsion of the Communists was the only course to prevent a disastrous disruption of the CSP. Senior leaders like Minoo Masani, Yusuf Meherally, Ram Manohar Lohia etc resigned from the party executive demanding dissolution of the United Front. KC regrets about weakening of the CSP as, 'This disaster proved more than a party affair, it became a national tragedy. The Socialist Party would have been the natural and appropriate opposition to the party in power when freedom came.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :214) After this disaster the Party was never able to reform itself. CSP took the inevitable step of breaking away from the Congress after 1947 as it could not tag itself to a 'Ruling Party' that did not have the same commitments, it lacked the core, the stamina and the structure to become a well equipped opposition. The decision of CSP to boycott the Constituent Assembly imagining themselves as an alternative Assembly was unreal and showed a dismal failure to grasp the spirit of the times. (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :216)

KC regretfully admits the CSP's blunder in not participating in the constitution making process as, "To offer a frontal alternative to it in the framing of the Constitution was a Psychological blunder." She regretted the crucial constitution making being left to non-political, moderate professionals like lawyers, doctors, and even some conservative element that the Congress had collected to broad base the constituent Assembly, ending in several unhappy results.'(Chattopadhyay,1986 :216) KC's connection with CSP ended in 1948. KC speculates that the last opportunity of forging alliance of Left and progressive forces was thrown away in 1953. Jayaprakash Narayan, leader of the Praja Socialist Party¹⁵ on being invited by Nehru to join the Government, declined the offer. KC recalls "There were disinterested persons who asked him (JP) to accept the invitation and after strengthening his position to try to get implemented his other demands, but he declined...So the opportunity was never given trial. It is very difficult to say what course Indian politics would have taken, had JP accepted Nehru's offer then." (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :211)

5.3.13 In England Sir Stafford Cripps, leader of the Socialist League helped KC to make a trip to Scandinavia. He wrote to Socialist and Labour cooperative leaders. He advised KC to stay in hotels or hostels run by the labour unions to get a better understanding of the functioning of the Unions. KC came to know of the Educational, recreational, cultural activities, workers' benefit activities, special vacation trips and Holiday Homes sponsored by the Labour Unions. (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :226)

5.3.14 In the context of proposition of partition of India Bapu had appealed to the Socialists not to oppose partition of in the All India congress committee session, for he felt India must stand firmly at that crucial hour. But when the proposition came to vote KC could not reconcile herself to remain neutral, she admits 'so, I raised my hand in opposition. With it I broke my link with political life. For by now a realization had been growing on me that this was not my vocation.' (Chattopadhyay,1986 :304)

5.3.15 KC's view of political situation in post-independent India, was of regret. She and JP viewed India and she states, 'As the years rolled by we both watched with dismay the hardening stratification of the society, the lopsided the development of the economy, the growing stubborn ness in the ecological and demographic problems from lack of concerted purposeful action. (Chattopadhyay,1986 :330)

Labour Union, Peasants' Movement and Trade Union

5.3.16 KC's involvement in labour and peasant movement is indicative of her endeavors to elevate the oppressed segments. As has been observed recurringly at the core of her mission structure was the 'human being'. It was also a part of her political participation in the struggle for freedom and human rights that she got involved in trade union activities. Her initiatives began in this domain when Dewan Chamanlal, a Congress Swaraj Party member invited her to look at inequities, oppressive government policies causing hardships to the labourers. Chamanlal appraised KC of the Labour situation and wanted national workers to enthuse labourers to rally round legitimate trade unions. She attended a Session of the Trade Union Congress at Jharia Bihar in 1928, where Nehru was elected as the President of the Trade Union Congress. This was her entry into the Trade Union arena. KC states, "To me this was a new field, a new experience, yet vital..."(Chattopadhyay, 1986 :114)

5.3.17 In 1929 in Berlin, a huge gathering of German Socialist Labour Unions was organized. She interacted with the workers and learnt about various activities of their unions such as conducting adult education classes, sports, Vacation tours; national and international, leisure hour activities, entertainments, cultural programmes etc. Sir Stafford Cripps leader of the Socialist League arranged KC's visit to Scandinavia to study the labour unions. She learnt that the labour unions there had taken up welfare activities. She

attended an important public gathering in a theatre hall owned by a German labour union. The workers were sponsored foreign trips by their labour unions.

5.3.18 In India the labor situation had worsened in 1929 with large-scale labor trouble. The workers became more class conscious and militant. They established Unions by the Marxist upsurge. The Girni Kamgar (textile workers) Union of Bombay held on strongly. The growing Communist influence resulted in arrest of union leaders and lodged in Meerut prison. KC visited the union leaders in Meerut prison like Dange, Ghate, Adhikari and others.

5.3.19 KC's biographer Reena Nanda states about KC's contribution in bring together the peasants and workers,

“Gandhi controlled the socialists to prevent division within congress. The congress workers scrambled for power. They edged out the idealistic, selfless workers who had struggled and sacrificed for Swaraj. Amongst them, Kamaladevi and the socialists were responsible for forging links and as, as Kapil Kumar says, ‘building bridges’ with peasants and workers organizations.” (Nanda,2002, : 120)

5.3.20 KC focused on awakening the peasants and workers to the evils of imperialism and Capitalism. She did not join any Trade Union or peasant group but in 1938, she aided N.G.Ranga and toured Karnataka with him addressing peasant rallies. In speeches to mill hands at Naigaun in April 1930, she told them that their fight against the Capitalists, supported by the British, would not succeed without the Congress.’(Nandan, 2002 :120)

5.3.21 After 1934, Mangalore remained her base and she organized several Labour Unions. She was invited to speak in the conferences on Socialism, peasants, labour Unions. At AICC, in August 1931, she supported Ranga's call for amendments opposing Zamindari System. And soon in 1933 she attended first of the many Kisan marches in Andhra Pradesh organized

by N.G. Ranga, the Kisan leader. In October 1935 she inaugurated the 'All India Peasants and workers Conference. She advised Ranga to elicit support of Kisan leaders of United Provinces and Bihar to make the Kisan Sabha successful. Ranga attributed his success in the formation of All India Kisan Sabha to KC's pragmatic advice.

5.3.22 Dr. H.V. Srinivasa Murthy writes about freedom fighter late Shankar Narayan Holla, "S.N. Holla strived hard with KC in many labour Unions worth mentioning are Cashew nuts, Tiles and Printing Press Labourers' Union.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 1 :452) In Mangalore S.N. Holla, Amembal Baleppa and KC organized Tile factory labours',mills and Motor Vehicles' Labour Union.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 1 :561) Amembal Baleppa, MBBS, of Bantwal Taluk, states that KC along with K.Ramakrishna Karanth, U. Srinivasa Mallya and several prominent leaders toured from village to village in the whole district participating in Social reformation activities besides the Satyagraha Programmes. Ever since 1937 KC launched and led Beedi workers and Cashew nut labours' agitation, S.N. Holla and K.K. Setty supported KC in labourers' struggle.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 3 : 235) The Cashew nut peeling women labourers strike organized by her brought relief to the women in her hometown Mangalore. Another relief was to the women textile labourers in Madurai for the Maternity leave of 6 weeks, which she led with Mrs. Cousins. These have been recorded in detail in Chapter 4 as it was thought more appropriate to place them in the Women's section.

5.3.23 When Congress Ministries came to power; conflict between Congress and Socialists got renewed on the issue of Kisan and labour Movements. In 1936 Socialists organized peasants under the banner of All India Kisan Sabha resulting in shooting up of Socialists membership and Trade Union membership. Coming together of the AITUC and NETO strengthened the labour unity. This was owing to the steady work by social cadres in which KC had actively endeavored.(Nanda,2002 : 89)¹⁶

5.4 An encounter with Princely States

5.4.1 KC was unhappy that Congress had not taken a clear stand about rights of the people who lived in Princely states. She was a KPCC member. At AICC, Madras she made a caustic comment about it. 'To us, the younger line of workers, the states were one of the bulwarks of imperialism, an unholy alliance between these Indian rulers and our British masters, which to me needed to be broken.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :205)

The installation of Congress Ministries, which led to a popular upsurge in the autocratic and feudal princely states, became another area of conflict between the Socialists and the Congress. KC was bound to move through Mysore as she lived at Mangalore besides she was involved in the political activities of the Congress in Mysore and was invited to address public meetings. The Diwan, Mirza Ismail's non-recognition of Congress as a legal entity in his state, disallowing hoisting of national flag and disallowing holding of a public meeting was disapproved by KC. She strongly appealed to AICC in Madras to facilitate Seventy million people in Mysore to assert their right of self-determination against Sir Mirza Ismail's promulgation Ordinance under Section 144 prohibiting KC from delivering any speech. The Dewan of Mysore Sir Mirza Ismail had issued a prohibitory order on KC banning her from delivering any speeches in public or private in the state. KC tabled a strong resolution in the AICC meeting, at Calcutta in October 1937. In Calcutta, KC's lecture to Bengal CSP on the princes' role in 'combating the tide of Indian Nationalism' was published on the front page of *Anand Bazar Patrika*¹⁷ on October 29. Her resolution was on the Mysore state taken up and she made use of K.F. Nariman's arrest and rejected Mysore Government's claim that its prohibitory orders were only against outsiders. She declared, 'We do not recognize insiders and outsiders. It is the inherent right of any congress worker to be able to go everywhere.' She castigated the Mysore Diwan for stating that 'he will not allow any organization which does not owe allegiance

to the Maharaja...Congress owes allegiance to the people of this country and no one else' *Anand Bazar Patrika*,¹⁸ 1st November 1937 (Nanda,2002 :86-88). In it she emphatically protested against various restrictive and prohibitory orders in Mysore State. It asked the people of British India to give the people of the state, support and encouragement in their legitimate and non-violent struggle for the right of self-determination. Until then under Gandhiji's guidance, the Congress Party's official stand had been of non-interference in the princely states. Gandhiji berated Nehru for allowing Congress to pass KC's resolution. But Gandhiji was forced to admit that he had not been aware of the extent of popular awakening in Mysore. Coinciding with a local Fair at Vidurashwatha in April 1938, a Mysore Congress Party meeting turned a disastrous one and the police killed about 30 innocent police. This attracted wide condemnation forcing Gandhi to change his stand on princely states. He was not aware of the political awakening in Mysore and realized it only after the tragic killing of 30 people at Vidusrashwastha that the only remedy was the transfer of power to the people. This justified KC's stand. (Nanda, 2002,: 86)

This incident endorses KC's stand. Nevertheless CSP claimed credit for wresting limited political rights for the people of Mysore State in which KC had contributed in a great way. B. R. Tomlinson's criticism that, 'she exploited the state people's struggle to consolidate her political position does not seem to be borne out by facts because at no time did she seek a elective post in the Mysore Congress Committee opines her biographer (Nanda,2002 :87-88). The local leaders like Bhashyam and Dasappa, because they were elected leaders of the Congress Committee have eclipsed KC's role in the democratic struggle in Mysore State.

Likewise KC's participation in Travancore too was not inspired by selfish motives as alleged by some. KC was familiar with the state of Kerala in connection with AIWC activities and her interest in Kerala's performing arts besides the fact that the Diwan was a family friend to KC. Since 1938, a

powerful agitation led by students, had begun against autocratic rule of the Dewan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. In 1938 August, KC was invited to inaugurate the Travancore Youth Conference. On the morning of her departure from Courtallom Waterfalls, a newspaper announced that Travancore State had banned her entry. She defied the order and was arrested. After a couple of days' as the 'guest of the Dewan' she was put on a train back to Madras. This incident altered Gandhi's leniency towards princely states and he later intervened in the State of Rajkot. His previous criticism was now replaced by active support. Writing in '*Harijan*',¹⁹ Gandhi said,

“The prevention of Kamaladevi from entering Travancore is a first class blunder. It passes comprehension how Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, himself a foreigner, prohibited the entry of a distinguished Indian lady on grounds of her being an outsider. It ill becomes the Indian Princes and their advisers to follow the pernicious practices of the English administration.” (Nanda,2002: 88)

He encouraged KC to brave the consequences, saying it was 'worthwhile to test the legality of such action.' (Mahatma Gandhi to KC, 14 December 1945). KC's role in changing Gandhi's policy towards princely states has been forgotten.

The biographer Reena Nanda questions whether it was an opportunity lost or whether it was resistance by the local leaders to stall her entry into the Congress Committee. After independence, during integration of princely states into the Indian Union, Sardar Vallabhai Patel had to threaten the Diwan of Travancore with the very same violent revolts by the people which Patel had earlier opposed to make the Diwan surrender. (Nanda,2002 :89)

In Karnataka Politics

5.4.2 The local political leaders resisted the political moves of KC or rather she faced a hostile atmosphere in her home district. She was in

disagreement with local leader Karnadu Sadashivarayaru. Late Smt. Suguna Karnada Desai wrote in 1974 that his father was the KPCC President and was associated with Ganapathi High School in Mangalore. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 3 :216-241) KC was in charge of the Mangalore Dist Congress affairs. She made an enemy of Karnadu Sadashiva Rayaru, a local leader who felt she had ousted him as Chairman of the Karnataka Provincial Socialist Conference to be held at Mangalore in May 1935. "She attacked the Congress acceptance of the new constitution of 1935 and opposed tolerance towards the princely state stressing that Congress must organize peasants, into Kisan Sabhas and draw masses into an awakening of their political consciousness. This Socialist propaganda was used by the KPCC 'old guard' as a proof of her opposition to their Gandhian policies. (Nanda,2002 :75-76). KC's experience of local politics made her disgusted with party politics altogether.

KC's role in the national politics is more prominent than that of the state politics. She was at times associated with leaders of her home state like Dr. Hardikar, Umabai Kundapur, Sardar Venkataramaiah and others. There were many who were inspired by her. I attempt to record these associations. The freedom fighters like Laxmandev Vidhyarthi of Mangalore; M.G, Shetty, and B.N.Gupta Bangalore; Nuggenahalli Goverdhan; Rumale Chennabasaiah,, T. Siddaligaiah; Sitaram Shastri, the editor of '*Veera Kesari*', C. Aswathanarayana, printer of '*Veerakesari*' B.N. Shinappa freedom fighter from Bangalore C.B. Monayya, freedom fighter from Kodagu district; B. Shambhu Shetty Seva Dal volunteer and Major (Dr.) Nuggenhalli Achyut Freedom fighter were her close associates in Karnataka. They have recounted their experiences of freedom struggle the snippets of the same are recorded below. Laxmandev Vidhyarthi²⁰ of Mangalore states that under the leadership of KC he performed in plays that were meant to awaken nationalist spirit and fervor. (Kamat, Dist DK Vol 3, 1974-75 :237) M.G, Shetty, Bangalore states that he and B.N.Gupta were closely associated with Dr. Hardikar and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 : 629) Nuggenahalli Goverdhan Freedom fighter

writes that in 1927, Gandhiji came as a guest to Mysore and stayed at Nandibetta for a month. All national leaders like C.F. Andrews, Moti Lal Nehru, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vallabhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari visited Bapu. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :701) Rumale Chennabasaiah, freedom fighter writes that, in 1936, 'Niggers Youth League' was formed with T. Siddalingaiah as President and Rumale Chennabasaiah as the Secretary. Sardar Patel objected to the name 'Niggers' Youth League'. He visited Doddaballapur while Gandhiji was in Nandibetta in 1936. Subhas Chandra Bose was the Congress President. He provided opportunity to form a committee of princely states Congress workers. These committees got the opportunity to participate in the politics of British regions. Dr. Hardikar and KC took the lead, toured and formed the committees. They visited Doddaballapur often. 'Niggers Youth League' inspired KC and Dr. Hardikar T. Siddalingaiah and Rumale Channabasaiah. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :246) T. Siddaligaiah freedom fighter and lawyer writes that in 1936 when Sardar Patel visited Doddballapur T. Siddalingaiah presided over a meeting, which was attended by Patel. He advised T. Siddalingaiah to merge his 'Niggers' League' with Congress Party. Prior to this meeting Dr. Hardikar, B.N. Gupta and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's visits to Doddaballapur had motivated the public. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :66) The close associates of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Sitaram Shastri, and Editor of '*Veera Kesari*', and C. Aswathanarayana, printer of '*Veerakesari*' were charged with 'Sedition'. They brought out the paper '*Navajivana*'. K. Jeevana Rao states that KC was affiliated to Theosophical Society. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :52-54) KC accompanied Nehru on his election tour of Karnataka in February 1937. A meeting of about 20,000 people at Hubli was addressed following Sirsi. B.N. Shinappa freedom fighter from Bangalore states that in 1937, he invited Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay and arranged her speeches at Bangalore, Kengeri, Bidadi, Ramanagara, Channapatna, Byrapatna, Maddur,

Mandya, Srirangapatna and Mysore. He also arranged Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's meetings with local leaders. At that time Bhashyam, Tagadur Ramchandra Rao, Karmarkar and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay were banned from delivering speeches. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :668) B. Shambhu Shetty Seva Dal volunteer states In 1938, D.K. district 8th Political Council was held at Mulki and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Srinivasa Mallya, K.K. Shetty and Narayana Kille attended the Convention. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist DK Vol 3 :241) C.B. Monayya, freedom fighter from Kodagu district recounts that in 1938 Haripur Congress Session it was decided that congress should not fight for freedom in the princely states. C.B. Monayya was arrested on 24th March and released on the next day. He was banished from Mysore State for violating order. Jana Jagrati had directed him to go to Hubli. But Congress leaders like KC and Hukkarikar suggested to him to go to Hyderabad Karnataka disguised as a Karnataka Life Insurance agent. (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :168) Major (Dr.) Nuggenhalli Achyut Freedom fighter recollects that he heard speeches and witnessed the great leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru, Moulana Shaukat Ali, S. Srinivasa Murthy, Pattabhi Sitaramaiah,

Dr. Hardikar, C. Rajagopalachari, and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay at Bangalore (Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 3 :683) T. Siddalingaiah states that Vidurashwatha Congress was held on 14/4/1939. Shri H.C. Dasappa unfurled the Congress flag as the President. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah inaugurated the exhibition and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay presided over the Socialist Convention. When Hosamani Siddappa became the President, T. Siddalingaiah and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay were the Vice-Presidents and Dr. Hardikar and Srinivas Mallya were the Secretaries. T. Siddalingaiah reveals a very interesting practice in the KPCC politics. He states, 'There were several groups within.' Consequently great leaders like Dr Hardikar, R.R. Diwakar, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Late Srinivasa Mallya instead of getting elected from their own constituencies used to represent Doddaballapur, Devanahalli, Yelahanka

and Nelmangala which were prestigious constituencies.(Kamat, 1974-75 Dist Bang Vol 2 :82-84)

5.5. Refugee Rehabilitation and Cooperative Movement (1948-1953)

5.5.1 KC very aptly states: “1947 was the year of decision. After India’s partition into two independent countries, across the borders populations in their millions exchanged places in history’s greatest mass migration. The unit of this human torment was the refugee, uprooted from his ancestral home, defeated, dejected, demoralized. The refugee came with smoldering Psychology of the dispossessed. The political argument held no validity for him. He was no chooser. Alone he was a tragedy, in combination human dynamite. The task was to cool his impassioned mind, assuage his griefs, and bring him to understanding, to acceptance to new ways of life...” (Jain,1998 :106) It is worth noting here that initiatives undertaken by KC demanded rebuilding the ruined lives. The term rehabilitation demands as a precondition the psychological stability of the traumatized mind unlike the resettlement, which restricts itself to physical terms. KC was here dealing with human beings in the shape refugees who were totally demoralized. The situation demanded a skill of negotiating multiple complexities. Besides, there was also a sense urgency, which pressed the leaders and the refugees alike. Refugee rehabilitation involved settlement not only on the physical and economic level but also on the psychological level. Children were killed and women were raped who needed psychological soothing and nursing to restore their sense of human dignity.

5.5.2 KC was initiated into the organizing and running of Cooperatives by Ramalingam an old family friend who filled the void of Anantaiah’s death. He was among the pioneering leaders in the Co-operative field. This seed germinated and initiated KC into adventurous experiments in Co-operation. She comments, ‘ “Co-operation as a way of life seemed to satisfy some social hunger in me, because of two basic elements in its component: Independence

and Self-reliance". (Chattopadhyay,1986 :28) KC was in Delhi in September 1947 for CWC meeting and realized that the situation demanded an urgent response. She states, "To me the answer was cooperation." KC initiated the task of settling the refugees out of concern for the human beings. Her vision of cooperative experiment was put to test in this huge task. She prepared the blueprint for a cooperative body which prepared the plan of action, implemented the programs and coordinated functions and took it Bapu for his guidance and support. When KC took the blueprint of ICU to Gandhiji for his advice, he thought it a worthwhile project. His comment to KC was,

"I shall help and identify myself (with the effort) on one condition. You promise to work on the strength of your idealism and the labour of the contractors; let it remain a people's organization, not identified with the administration and not dependent on the Government."

He emphasized, "Cooperation was self-reliance where people came together to help each other." (Jain,1998 :106)

5.5.3 Her Scandinavian experience and the Chinese Induscos helped her in this all-inclusive complex program. It was not just an economic program to provide livelihood or raise people's income but a social factor and a way of life. They were very strongly developed in the Scandinavian Countries especially Denmark. She visited and studied their working in detail. 'Cooperative were of special interest for a study of their organization in Sweden which I covered through short trips for detailed studies. A substantial portion of production and marketing was in the cooperative section, which opened up for me new vistas for Cooperative work in India...after the 1947 debacle. (Chattopadhyay,1986 :231)The role played by the co-operatives in war torn China had as she says, "Enriched my own concept of co operation". KC met Rawi Alley, the Minister for War and learnt of 'Induscos'. In China the industries were destroyed and the Chinese envisioned industrialization through

Cooperatives. These were the renowned 'Induscos' symbolized with a red triangle embodying two Chinese characters 'Kung Ho: work together,' under Rawi Alley, a New Zealand missionary. KC writes that there were 3000 Cooperatives employing 50,000 workers trained in techniques as well as principles of co operation. (Chattopadhyay,1986 :273) "The frame work of the Cooperative Union was unacceptable to the Delhi State Co operative Department, as it had been independently set up. An independent co operative body was an anachronism and a deadly challenge to its established authority." (Chattopadhyay,1986, :308)

5.5.4 As Delhi did not have a Registrar these were governed by the Punjab cop operative Act of 1912 and the rules were obsolete and unsuitable. After 8 months the organization was registered as 'Indian Co operative Union (ICU). She was impatient when the land allotment was delayed and planned to take possession of an empty land. But immediately 400 acres land was given to 35 Bhawalpur families in the village of Chattarppur 14 miles from Delhi... The refugees had formed the Such Khand Multipurpose Cooperative and the land belonged to the society, not to the individuals. .(Brijbhushan,1976 :132)

5.5.5 KC personally monitored the rehabilitation of refugees. 'I got a small cottage erected in Chattarpur for myself to personally share in the activities of the rural community.' A noted creative artist was appointed to preserve and stimulate traditional cultural forms. (Chattopadhyay,1986 :318)Lakshmi Chand Jain,²¹ was one of the founders of ICU and its General Secretary for the first two decades, was working at the Kingsway Camp, remembers that she was the only one of the VIPS who visited the camp everyday and posed the question, "This is all very well but what about the future of these people? What is being done to rehabilitate them and help them put down permanent roots?" KC was a visionary, planner and a strategist. L.C.Jain endorses: "Indeed right from day one, KC oriented the ICU to adopt

socio-economic surveys of the communities to be served as a precondition for planning action.” (Jain 1997: 73)

5.5.6 The episode of Mulk Raj is testifies the political and bureaucratic resistance which hampered the cooperative activities from being initiated for the Indo-Pak partition refugees. Mulk Raj²² came to KC on behalf of 400 Jhang refugees from west Punjab. They were cultivators ready to form themselves into cooperatives and do joint farming. It took a year for the allotment of land of 4000 acres in Bharatpur. But the administrator announced that he could not permit independent co-operatives, which were not run by the department. Consequently 400 families departed to East Punjab.

5.5.7 KC reveals the cooperatives caught in grip of bureaucracy and bureaucratic machinery was the main road block in KC's endeavors in rehabilitation which she reveals as:

“Cooperatives in India had too long been Secretariat hatched, Secretariat nourished and Secretariat run...We were launching out on and uncharted Sea, with no land marks. There were ugly men in the Secretariat who were doing their best to smash up the experiment. But it worked, and as the saying goes nothing succeeds success....If co operation is ever to become a dominant sector in the national economy, then ‘producing co operatives’ is the only answer. The ICU therefore naturally laid greatest stress on the ‘Producers cooperatives’. (Brijbhushan,1976 :130-.133)

5.5.8 The industrial cooperatives were set up for the skilled craftsmen to get raw materials, loans, access to create a modest centre for retail sale by the ICU itself. As the ICU had settled refugee craftsmen in the vicinity of Delhi, KC aimed to extend it to the Kashmir Crafts Workers, as they were excellent workers. ‘The Co operative Union set up a Cooperative working Centre in Srinagar with a young man, Mengi in charge...Mengi (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 325).²³

5.5.9 After Chattarpur it was Faridabad that the ICU undertook to rehabilitate the pathans from NWFP. It was a question of rehabilitating about 50,000 displaced persons from North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) who were compelled by partition to move into India. They were Khudai Khidmatgars of Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. The displaced persons from NWFP were around 80,000 compared to the estimated 8 million who entered India from Pakistan. Faridabad 20 Km from Delhi was chosen, with their consent, as a site for settlement. Faridabad camp was unique in terms that its major rehabilitation endeavors were based on Self-help and the two top Indian leaders, President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru were associated with it. "The ICU was asked to resettle the refugees. It agreed and stipulated that work and other services would be cooperatively done and by the refugees themselves, eliminating the contractors and other middlemen. The newly set up Faridabad Development Board, was a predominantly non-official body, agreed to this proposal.(Brijbhushan,1976 :133)

5.5.10 The Faridabad Development Board(FDB) included social institutions, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, MP; Ashadevi Aryanayakam, Secretary of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, KC, President of the Indian Cooperative Union (ICU) and Lady Colleen Nye (wife of the British High Commissioner Sir Archibald Nye) representing the United Council for Relief and Welfare (UCRW) set up at the initiative of Lady Edwina Mountbatten. Sudhir Ghosh one time Gandhi's emissary was the member Secretary of the Board. L.C.Jain went to Faridabad initially at the suggestion Mridula Sarabhai and KC on behalf of the ICU to organize Cooperatives there for rehabilitation. Later, Sudhir Ghosh invited him to act as his deputy as Assistant Secretary to the FDB (Jain, 1998:5). L.C. Jain volunteered to move from the camp and became the ICU's first village-level organizer in 1948 at Mehrauli village near the Qutub Minar. (Jain 1997: 15-16) An army Colonel to maintain law and order, to administer relief and to build temporary shelters, initially

ran administration at Faridabad. In 1949, barely two years after the camp was set up, the Rehabilitation Ministry withdrew relief to its inhabitants without first creating gainful jobs, pushing them towards the brink of destruction. Faridabad grew into a Industrial Township and the Co operative movement also achieved success in building the township through Labor Cooperatives.

5.5.11 L.C.Jain emphasizes the positive impact of the people's role in development and in building hope and states that equally negative is the role of the politicians and bureaucrats in neutralizing this development:

“The most important lesson undoubtedly is: the recognition the role people can play in investing development with dynamism, speed and in building hope. No less important, in the present context as in past, is the role narrow politicians and bureaucrats dressed in brief authority can play in unbuilding such endeavors.”(Jain,1998 :8)

He reasserts that the Constitution and the legislations become ineffective in the face of corruption and power greed. He states:

“The 73rd and 74th Amendment to the constitution... give a prime place to people through medium of village Panchayats...But the Panchayats too inevitably have to face and overcome the nexus between political and bureaucratic power structure which is a thousand times more formidable and power conscious hungry today than what Faridabad had to cope with. (Jain, 1998 :8)

5.5.12 I record here the correspondence which took place between the Indian Prime Minister Nehru, the Rehabilitation Minister, Mohan Lal Saxena. Nehru's letter to Mohan Lal Saxena states:

“Two or three days ago I sent you a proposal recommended by KC, for some cooperative organizations among refugees for producing milk. Subsequently, I think, I sent you another similar

proposal. Both these seem to me the right lines and approach for rehabilitation of refugees. Probably they do not fit in with any government approach. No doubt your office people will put up long notes to this effect, and I will not be impressed by these notes..."(Jain, 1998 : 31).²⁴

The Minutes of the Board meetings, the extracts of the letters written amongst Nehru, Rehabilitation Minister, KC, the Registrar and others reveal that there was a lot wrangling which took place before Faridabad could be made a success. The ICU and the autonomous Faridabad Development Board were removed from the scene, which was preceded by removal of the key individuals at the operational level. What was their *modus operandi*? (Jain, 1998: 175)

5.5.13 The correspondence reveals the support Nehru extended to the cooperative movement. Nehru to Mohan Lal Saxena: "I have received your two letters of the 18th June. We can discuss about social workers, as you wish...If any group, like the ICU, wants to do work, if any refugees start some institutions, School or anything else, standing on their own feet, we should welcome this and pat them on the back...That is why I think we should help the Indian Co operative Union or other similar schemes run by Kamaladevi. It may be that they fail, but it will be far greater failure on our part if the news spreads that we are reluctant to help efforts at self-help." (Jain,1998 :38-39) The correspondence between KC and Nehru, Punjab Governor Trivedi and Nehru, Finance Minister C.D. Deshmukh and Nehru, M.O. Mathai Nehru's Private Secretary and Sudhir Ghosh, reveals that ICU had to face a tough time with the government machinery despite Nehru's support to it (Jain,1998 :124-129)

5.5.14 The issue of construction of 5,000 houses was another matter which revealed the resistance of the officers of the PWD in helping the ICU. According to FDB's resolution construction was to be taken away from the

contractors and entrusted to cooperative labour groups consisting of the inmates of the Faridabad refugee camp. In the Board meeting Punjab Chief Engineer, Varma contended that contractors could finish task faster than the ICU, which in his opinion did not have adequate trained Personnel... KC was upset. She stressed that while the ICU was perfectly willing to offer assistance to the refugees in building their houses, it could not accept the position of a contractor. She felt this view once again ignored the overriding need for work generation. After all, the refugees had the highest stake in the speedy completion of their houses. This decision was detrimental to the interests of the refugees. Nehru was contacted in the midnight by KC through Mridula Sarabai. Nehru wrote a clarificatory letter to Rajendra Prasad on 7th January 1950 favouring the cooperatives to do the job... With Nehru's final stand, the Punjab PWD and the Contractors whom it had mobilized who were expecting a tempting business worth Rs 4.64 crores to accrue to them, were utterly disappointed. The FDB asked the Punjab Government to withdraw its PWD staff posted at Faridabad to break nexus with contractors as well as to pave way for the recruitment of a totally independent engineering organization unaccustomed to PWD approach and methods. (Jain, 1998:70-73)

5.5.15 KC 's mission was not just to rehabilitate but also to make the people self-reliant. L.C.Jain endorses this view as:

“She felt that if such a service organization stayed too long in any one area. It would generate dependency in the community served, and complacency or worse among the social workers.”
(Jain, 1998 :131)

So, ICU withdrew from Faridabad after training the cooperative members both as industrial workers and members of a cooperative. ICU entered Faridabad in the middle of 1949 and withdrew from Faridabad in January 1953 after forming 50 Societies Faridabad. L.C.Jain quotes N.Sehgal²⁵:

“I was very impressed with the work done at Faridabad. A township has been built there by displaced themselves persons themselves under the guidance of Sudhir Ghosh and some other officers...In fact, one can almost say that is a big human experiment. (Jain, 1998 :124-127)

5.5.16 In the FDB meeting on 10/6/1949, Nehru advocated emphasis of organizing cottage industries in the township and suggested that the project seek the assistance among others of JC Kumarappa (the Gandhian economist) KC (President of ICU), S K Dey of Nilokhari and Director of Industry, East Punjab. (Jain,1998 :137)

5.5.17 Gopikrishna²⁶ recalls the daily visits of KC to the areas, persuading the local people to help the refugees with animals and implements: persuade the authorities to allow sewage water that was flowing into the Okhla Canal to be carried to the Jaitpur village farms. KC's concern for irrigation took her to the doors of the Food and Agriculture Ministry. After drilling the bores, where no water was available, five huge storage tanks were built in the area and even today it is through them that farms are irrigated. (Brijbhushan,1976 :136-137)

5.5.18 As work progressed the lacunae in the existing arrangements became apparent. A farmer's pregnant wife died of lack of medical care. Consequently, a medical team with doctor and ambulance visited the villages during the day and was available for emergency calls even at night. This was the first time such a service was organized in India. (Brijbhushan,1976 :137) Another First to KC's credit which has been often been copied by various organizations, was the 'integrated credit scheme.' She brought weavers together, arranged credit and other facilities and organized handloom co-operatives. Consumer stores were opened as an outlet for these products. This was a system by which loans were given to the poor farmers with the stipulation that they use the technical advice on the use of fertilizers etc given by the agricultural experts of the ICU. (Brijbhushan,1976 :137) When

Madame Sun Yat Sen²⁷ came to India she visited one of the farms and was greatly impressed.

5.5.19 In Faridabad KC had to convince the people to become self employed and with earned money they could buy food from the co operative workshop for themselves and their children and need not depend on others or on the indifferent food supplied by the government. KC had the special sympathy for women and she personally organized a number of women's co-operatives. They made garments, processed foodstuffs and spices, made pickles, chutneys and papads; dairy farming, embroidery, toy making etc. The ICU eventually came to cover a wide variety of co operatives, urban and rural and managed activities ranging from farming to running of up-to-date departmental stores.

5.5.20 KC the key initiator of ICU said in a keynote address to International Cooperative League of the USA in 1960," A small band of dreamers who had talked of co operation an ideal middle path, saw a great opportunity for putting these dreams into practice and giving them some tangible shape". 139J It assisted the government in setting up the colonies of cooperatively built houses, industrial societies and consumer cooperatives. It grew out of the service of displaced persons and its activities and came to embrace many other fields of national endeavor. It not only serves farmers, craftsmen, artisans and slum dwellers in securing technical, financial, educational and medical aid and teaches them cooperative principles and philosophy but also gives practical demonstration of cooperation thus creating conditions in which cooperative enterprises can function and prosper. It has contacts with cooperative and welfare organization in UK, USA and New Zealand and other countries. (Brijbhushan,1976 :139)

5.5.21 The Ministry of Commerce had set up an Emporium as an outlet for the products of the Cottage Industries Board. This ran into heavy loss. On the other hand a small counter held by the ICU in the same emporium

for sale of handicrafts made by the refugee women was crowded with buyers. Nehru suggested the ICU run the emporium. He learnt that the government because of the bureaucratic opposition could not register these ICU. The matter was rectified and the ICU took over the running of the Emporium.

Through ICU's efforts the emporium became the most exciting handicrafts shop in the capital with an annual turn over of crores of rupees. The Emporium's feeder services included designing, market research, Planning and promotion, buying, packing and shipping exports to countries like the USA, the UK, Scandinavia, Australia and Germany. The exports went to well over 2-lakh dollars year. Later the emporium was handed over to the government. The super markets are run by the ICU and provide quality goods at extremely competitive prices. When Dalai Lama left Tibet and sought refuge in India in 1959 the ICU set up a training center for over 500 refugees in the mountain resort of Dalhousie, 350 miles from Delhi.(Brijbhushan,1976 :140)

5.5.22 After India got Independence Gandhiji wanted the Congressmen to serve as Loksevakas. KC opted out of politics and set up the ICU, which acted as a catalyst along with the selected organizations to together the main voluntary organizations in the country. This led to the founding of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) with KC as president and ICU's founding member Dharam Pal as its first General Secretary. (Jain, 1997: 24 -26)

5.5.23 Indian cooperatives were inspired by the example of Induscos, formed by Sun-Yat-Sen in China. The ICU had formed industrial and service cooperatives for making bricks, carpentry, black smithy, weaving, making of buttons, cardboard boxes and cooking stoves for domestic use, hosiery products, a network of consumer cooperatives and transport cooperatives which towed its material from source to site. Despite the above shown network of activities a long battle about alleged misappropriation of funds ensued

between the Cooperative Department of Punjab and ICU leading to a decision to liquidate ICU. Finally Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) closed the matter. (Jain, 1997: 393)

5.5.24 When ICU launched its cottage industries Development program, Shri S.A. Venkataraman, ICS, Secretary, Ministry of Industry and commerce; 'bureaucrat of all bureaucrats' released a grant when he was impressed by KC's proposal to seek a loan for starting a marketing service for different cottage industries products made by artisans cooperatives across the country. (Jain,1997 :398-399)

5.5.25 KC told the whole story of what happened at Faridabad and Kingsway Camp in an article she wrote entitled, *'A Saga of the uprooted: Efforts of the Indian Co operative Union to rehabilitate the refugees from Pakistan.'* KC highlights the endeavors undertaken by the displaced people who after three years of rehabilitation had come to attend the Convention of Co operators. The Memorandum of their union was submitted to the then Planning Minister Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda on 13 December 1951...They had built their own houses, built a powerhouse of their own, which generated some 6,00 KWts of electricity...There were 4000 of them, men and women at the constitution club grounds. These men and women who lifted the cooperative Movement from the Secretariat files and red tape to a dynamic movement of the people, both in agriculture and industry, demanded to see the Minister for planning and present their grievances and ask for redress. (Brijbhushan,1976 :128)

5.5.26 Since the 70s and 80s for ICU, KC continued her campaign in support of cooperatives through lectures to groups across the country... and through publications in leading journals of analytical papers and articles on issues concerned to the ICU particularly on crafts, rural credit, rural poverty on the plight of handloom weavers or disadvantaged groups such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, backward regions, and emphasizing

the need for decentralization of power through Panchayats and Co operatives. (Jain,1997 :403)

5.5.27 L.C.Jain writes that with Ramakrishna Hedge 's entry as Deputy Chairman into Yojana Bhavan along with L.C. Jain as Member of the Planning Commission in 1989-90 cooperative law was strongly criticized. The Planning Commission set up the Brahm Prakash Committee to formulate a model cooperative law. In the nineties this has become a forceful weapon for the cooperatives to press for democratic legislation for cooperatives. (Jain,1997 :403)

5.5.28 After almost 6 decades L.C.Jain addressed the young outgoing Graduates of Gujarat Vidya Peeth during his convocation address as, 'Come 1949, refugees who had come from North West Frontier Province of Pakistan were popularly called in India as ' Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan's people'. The Indian leaders felt especially tender towards them. Rajen Babu, Nehru, Zakir Hussain, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Asha Aryanayakan, all joined together in the Faridabad Development Board specially set up for rehabilitation of the 50,000 NWFP persons to be resettled mainly through self-help and community action'.

5.6. Consumer Protection

5.6.1 Jayaram Adiga a well known journalist reports in Kannada Prabha dated 25/12/88 that on 6th August 1987 KC wrote a letter to Ramakrishna Hegde, to allot a land of 10 acres to construct 'Indian Institute of Consumer Studies' and 'Consumers and Guides Training Centers.' It was decided to allot the land either in Koramangala or Sarjapur Extension of Bangalore. KC asked the Chief Minister to expedite the matter. Before the land could be granted for the construction of the institute, the Managing trustee of the institute KC passed away. The IICS had remained a dream even until 1988. KC was determined to start the institute and had written 9 letters to Government. She stayed at Bangalore from November 10th to 19th to pursue this matter.

Ramakrishna Hedge recalled KC's concern for consumers. He quoted her as, "For proper functioning of the consumer protection bodies, a training institute was required". He had provided money for the same, R.K. Hedge said, "It was her last wish to protect the interests of the consumers."

Notes

1. The rehabilitation of Indo-Pak partition refugees and Cooperative ventures started simultaneously and ran parallelly.
2. Set up by Sarojini Naidu, Perin and Goshiben captain.
3. See *A Many Splendoured Life*, 1988 by former President of India R. Venkataraman
4. she was arrested under the Vagrants' Act (S.109 Criminal Procedure Code)
5. A veteran freedom fighter of Karnataka.
6. A report dated 28/9/1942 itself indicates that the relief promised to the labourers had not been paid till then
7. Kannada Prabha- Editorial-Khadri Shamanna.2/11/1988.
8. He was a freedom fighter and lawyer
9. Former Governor and Chief Justice of Karnataka High Court
10. He dedicated his life to propagating India's cause in America. He records his experiences in his book '*America's contribution to India's freedom*'
11. He was active in Co-operative movement and was a champion of women's rights.
12. Oral History Transcript, Nehru Memorial Museum Library.
13. Gandhiji expressed his dispeasure about Karnataka leadership in money matters.
14. KC was denied CWC membership in earlier but made its member in 1946.
15. Praja Socialist Party was formed by merger of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and Socialist Party .
16. Jayaprakash Narayan to Nehru on 23 November 1938
17. KC's lecture to Bengal CSP on Princes' role in combating Indian nationalism
18. KC's resolution on the state of Mysore was taken up in the Calcutta Congress session.

19. Bapu's support to KC in connection with the policy of Princely states.
20. Freedom fighter Pandit Laxman Dev Vidyarthi enacted in the plays of 'Hindi Natak Sangh' under the leadership of KC.
21. Former Member of the National Planning Commission and Ramon Magsaysay Awardee.
22. He was a refugee from Punjab who approached KC with 400 Jhang families for relief to the refugees but had to return due to bureaucratic resistance.
23. Mengi was a Kashmiri who served for 3 decades for the cause of handicrafts
24. Extract from Nehru's letter to his Rehabilitation Minister Mohan Lal Saxena.
25. Punjab Registrar of Co operatives, who visited Faridabad under the guidance of the Governor of Punjab to assess the progress.
26. He was a refugee from occupied Kashmir, who devoted his life to cooperative work.
27. A social worker who worked the for the rehabilitation of the war affected Chinese and formed Indoscus the Chinese Industrial cooperatives for their economic development.

Chapter 6

Conserving the Cultural Heritage

- 6.1. Cultural Renaissance: Handicrafts Quest, Rejuvenation and Promotion
- 6.2. Causes for Degradation
- 6.3. Vision / Mission
- 6.4. Continuing the Aesthetic Legacy
- 6.5. In the Realm of Theatre
- 6.6. Writings

Conserving the Cultural Heritage

6.1 Cultural Renaissance: Handicrafts' Quest, Rejuvenation and Promotion

The extract from the report of the Haskar Committee constituted to probe into the irregularities in India's art expressions aptly testifies KC's crucial role in safe guarding India's cultural expressions through her ever vigilant and timely responses.

"Mention should be made of the pioneering work of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay in restoring our craft some of their old glory as well as in ensuring a future for them thus fulfilling not nearly a [sic] economic but also a cultural necessity of preserving durable aspects of our civilization in the midst of complex processes of change ...this institutional frame work for restoring craft has been made...Haskar Committee Report - 1990(Nanda, 2002 :122)

KC's endeavors in the area of cultural renaissance were far more extensive than intensive owing to the multiplicity of crafts, and the multidimensional aspects involved in this domain. It demanded a multi pronged approach as it involved a revival of the languishing forms from all the perspectives. There were no indicators to know the extent of damage colonialism had unleashed on the craft and the Indian craftsman.

In this Chapter, I attempt to examine the various influences, which were at play, and how they were confronted or tackled both by the craftsmen

themselves and KC who had taken upon herself the task of resuscitation of the art and craft forms. I attempt to state various definitions of handicraft, fine arts, performing arts and place with them with that of KC to show the extent of difference, which exists between her perspective, and those of the others.

Her artistic and social concerns were recognized and aired by several experts, associates, critics and artistes. R.N. Haldipur, former Lt Governor of Pondicherry and Arunachal Pradesh states:

“There were two concerns which were uppermost in her mind one was upliftment of the downtrodden...the cause of women’s education ...another section of people whose interest she had at heart were the artists and craftsmen. She had a passionate love for handicrafts, theatre, dance and puppetry” (Haldipur, 2003: 58)

6.1.1 The Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle define art as: Those arts, which give pleasure, are identified as ‘fine arts’ and arts, which have utility value, are identified as ‘Craft’. By ‘Art’ Plato meant imitation and he questioned the very existence of arts as they neither contribute nor do any good to society. But Aristotle explained the extent of imitation and categorized them as arts of utility. The arts of utility are not meant for oneself. He opines that they (arts of utility) are created for others in a sense that they make up drawbacks, which occur, in the natural objects.

6.1.2 Gandhiji impacted KC’s perspective of handicrafts. He expounded his philosophy on handicrafts: “Nothing is created without a purpose. ‘Slowly this kept sinking into me. Later I absorbed more as I read some of our ancient texts on craft which a later recorded in my book, *‘India’s Craft Tradition.’*”(Chattopadhyay, 1986 :68) Another subtle influence was that of Annie Besant. About traditional Indian decorative articles of everyday use she acknowledges: “What drew me was Mrs.Besant’s effort to reassert the core

our ancient philosophy and teachings...This to me was a worthy objective for I was attracted to many of the traditional things in clothes, ornaments, articles of everyday use..."(Chattopadhyay, 1986: 35).

The mission of saving India's cultural heritage from extinction formulated itself out of her nationalist and humanist concerns. Also, she was an artist herself who could not pursue the art forms in which she was trained and keenly interested. After her political endeavors, resuscitation of cultural forms was an extension of the political struggle against colonial domination of India's cultural life. Her sense of aesthetic sensitivity evolved owing to her exposure to rituals and festivities provided by her home atmosphere. It involved fashioning items of beauty with one's hands, using simple and natural materials.

6.1.3 KC's association with G. Venkatachalam whom she called her Guru exposed her to a deep knowledge of the Indian cultural expressions, forms, philosophy, literature, music, dance, sculpture, architecture, and handicrafts. Besides other things, he rendered valuable service in the formation and setting up of crafts Design centers for the Handicrafts Board in various regions for reorientation of craft objects.

6.1.4 As India was primarily an agricultural country, handicrafts held a secondary position and the onslaught of foreign goods marginalized indigenous articles. As an outcome of modern education and media of communication, the age-old religious convictions became vulnerable and consequently, handicraft became centered on only the socially backward people. During the beginning of the 19th century British rule in India arts were patronized by the Princely states like Baroda, Mysore, and Gwalior Tanjavur. The foreign guests to these kingdoms were gifted with rare pieces of art. Later on government and private museums were opened to exhibit these rare pieces of art in a well-organized way. Art education started in Madras in 1850 Followed by opening of art schools at Calcutta and Bombay. The

fine arts were encouraged than the handicrafts. Handicraft gained prominence again during the post independence period. In 1952 KC became the president of the All India Handicrafts Board (AIHB). Her multipronged mission was inclusive of several measures and was prompted by Gandhian philosophy of Swadeshi. She made it the underlying policy in every arena of her activity. Her deep conviction in the Gandhian thought of indigenouslyness drove her towards making the artisan self-reliant.

6.1.5 KC prioritized her endeavors based upon the need and urgency. “When India won independence KC’s next priority was to work for national reconstruction. Though she could have any office in the Government or outside for the asking, she chose to revive and rejuvenate the country’s cultural heritage through promotion of arts and crafts.” (Nayar, 2005 : xix)

6.1.6 If a classification of art forms is attempted, arts can be classified into fine arts and crafts. The dances, music painting are fine arts, which need talent. These are perfected by hard work and continuous practice. But craft specially demands intelligence and skill than talent. These can also be perfected by continuous practice. Further the classification of handicrafts has been attempted on the basis of various aspects like: region-wise, utility-wise, raw materials-wise and even on the basis of creativity. Despite such attempts the handicrafts seem to defy classification and all handicrafts do not place themselves in clear-cut groups. Another method to classify the art pieces would be on the basis of aesthetic value and their utility value. (Kuntar, 2000: 49-51).

6.1.7 KC’s deep concern for craftsmen reflected in the craftsmen-friendly and craftsman-centric initiatives, which she undertook. She instituted national awards for craftsmen. For practically the first time in their history some Indian craftsmen lost their anonymity. Another welfare measure was the Pensions that she helped to institute for them. KC aimed to provide financial, marketing, design adaptation and the support, which would provide

employment to the millions of artisans and tribal communities. Her keen interest to develop craft was based on Japanese model where handicraft formed an integral part of the national plan and competition with heavy industry was avoided. For KC craft and art were not museum pieces and in their social and economic setting they formed part of a long tradition.

6.1.8 In the modern times the artisan has no space as his existence is endangered so much so that handicrafts industry needs protection. The problem is compounded with handicrafts becoming showpieces in the museum and showcases. Museum is a western concept ...in our traditional homes there are no showcases because the spaces in house were used to maximum advantage and each useful thing was aesthetically placed to give a pleasant feeling (Kuntar, 2000: 43-47).

6.1.9 KC's keen interest in handicrafts evolved her not only as a rejuvenator but a researcher, a planner and a strategist in the modern sense of the word. Her deep study of the nuances of the handicrafts industry is recurringly noticed in the books authored by her. It assumes significance in the context of lack of modern day hi tech means of communication and transportation. She reveals: "The story of handicrafts is as old as human civilization when capacity of the hands to create was respected, even revered." (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 1) Further her aesthetic sensitivity was not only human-centric but had an economic dimension to it. She was aware that the Indian artisans were prized for their perfection of craftsmanship, excellence of design and form and unsurpassed sense of color.

6.1.10 Her perception of Indian handicraft lays stress on the functional or the utilitarian aspect of the item besides the accepted dimension of beauty attached to it. With her humanist approach she was able to integrate it with life and society. For her a handicraft communicated as a symbol and reflected human relationships, which she states:

“Handicraft has always been a very basic activity of human society for craft is an integral part of our life. They are more cohesive in human relationship than even language... We recognize that craft is as much an expression of human spirit in material, form, which delights mankind, as any of what are termed fine arts. (Chattopadhyay, 1985: 1)”

6.1.11 Her perspective of handicraft extends beyond aesthetic dimension to scientific and technical aspect when she identifies Indian handicraft with Silpa Sastra.¹ She acknowledges: “Handicraft is rightly described as the craft of the people. Handicraft fulfils the positive need in the daily life of the people. Besides acting as a vehicle of expression revealing the conscious aesthetic approach, it also manifests in its structure the principle of Silpa Sastra, the ancient scientifically evolved formulae and regulations for manufacturing.” (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 3)

6.1.12 A craft has been variously defined as ‘a skill of the hand taken up as a vocation ‘either produced by a single person or by a community of artists or ‘a thing of art with utility value produced in large numbers besides having a uniformity of appearance... A sculpture is a three-dimensional article with utility value. It is termed as a fine art. But in the case of a fine art its utility value is substituted by a sentiment. A single artist produces several pieces of craft during his lifetime, which are aesthetically different... if an individual makes an artistic item for himself; it is not termed as handicraft. But the same piece of art if produced in large quantity to suffice the needs of his community, village or region, it can be termed as a handicraft... The local competition causes evolution and innovation in the art form. (Narasimhan, 2000: 21-25)

6.1.13 Craft experts have defined handicrafts in several ways highlighting their own perspectives. Craft is defined as being different both in terms of raw material and tools used for its creation. Despite these interpretations,

the underlying commonality is that, these are hand made and indigenous which reflect the aspirations of the people. Thereby a group or community may make the same kind of artifacts and is supposed belong to a separate caste. Most of the crafts are traditional and were called as community vocation. The son inherits the craft from his father and the grandson in turn from his own father. The raw materials for the artifact are mud, stone, metal, wood and water. These community vocations are called 'Domestic Industries.' These arts with aesthetic value were called 'handicrafts'.

6.1.14 If the origin of the handicrafts is traced, it is observed that the prime vocation of man in the ancient times was hunting and agriculture, followed by handicrafts when he started making basic things for his daily needs. The artisans skillfully use a variety of raw materials. They have been called by various names² on the basis of raw material used by them. The craftsman who used soil was called a 'Kumbara' or Mruttika Shilpi; who worked on stone was called a 'Kalkutiga' or Shilpi; who worked on Wood was called a 'Badiga' or Kaashta Shilpi; the metal user a 'Kammara' or Loha Shilpi; clothmaker a 'Vasanakara' or Vastra Shilpi." (Hiremath, 2000: 1-9)

6.1.15 KC's close associate Jasleen³ Dhamija defines artisan as, "In the English context the word 'artisan' means a mechanic, a skilled worker and when applied to craftsman, we think of crafts persons involved in a mindless mechanical activity. The French usage confuses us. For example in French, 'artisan' means crafts and we are confusing the issue by using the word 'artisan' for crafts person." (Dhamija, 2003:3) A craft person is one who is skilled in a craft technique and though he may produce a number of similar objects it expresses the maker's creativity. He also creates a number of other objects, which are a total expression of his/her creative self.

6.1.16 KC traces evolution of India's cultural diversity and substantiates: "The Indian artisans' aesthetic norms are impacted by a wide range of factors like innumerable invasions of virile nomadic people, the inter mingling of

civilizations, the alien myths, symbols and superstitions, the ancient gods and cults of the original inhabitants of this land and the geographical factors that have moulded the aesthetic norms of the Indian artisan.”(Chattopadhyay, 1963: 4).

6.1.17 She reinterprets the role of a craftsman and the purpose of a craft in a simplistic way as: “In the Indian context Vishwakarma⁴, the deity of crafts is the very source of creative intellect and the craftsman combines within his being the functions of both conceiver and executor... The craftsman was the unbroken link in the tradition that embraced both the producer and the consumer within the social and religious fabric... (Indian Handicrafts, 1963:4)...and she interprets further: “Beauty was not an isolated item; it was an integral part of one’s intimate life. Whatever the article in use no matter how mundane, it had to be beautiful. Decoration had to serve a social purpose and it was not just an end in itself. (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 6-7)

6.1.18 She recognizes the universality of appeal of the Indian folk forms and folk beliefs and absorption of these into Hindu Pantheon as: “The popularity of Bankura⁵ terracotta horse is a testimony to the universal appeal of the more typical of the folk forms. A great deal of Hindu pantheon reveals the absorption of folk symbols and beliefs...” (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 7) She was an art expert who evaluated art from various multiple angles like creativity, social context, history and economic system. She writes: “Handicraft is not preoccupied with that subjective feeling and thought but objectivity. The distinguishing attribute of handicraft is beauty not merely in appearance but also in concept. Its intrinsic beauty is perennial and does not seem to fade or decline.” (Chattopadhyay, 1985: 2).

6.1.19 KC perceived handicraft as an inextricable part of the life of an Indian. She endorses it as, “If I am asked to explain the specialty of the manmade crafts, then my answer in one word would be ‘beauty’...In our

country beauty is an embodiment of God. The Indian concept of 'Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram'⁶ is the basic tenet which makes life meaningful...Art is as ancient as man himself and unlike western countries Indian art is not confined to museums but is a part of man's daily life." (Iyengar, 2000: 19) and further substantiates her stance as: "good taste and greater opportunity to live in intimacy with beauty should not be the privilege of the few but the common inheritance of all. This is what craft have to instill into us." (Rangachar, 2001-03: Profile). If we define an artisan, a person who uses his hands is and artisan. This applies to agriculture also. It is a job done with hands or a job which is machine-assisted but predominantly done with hands. The fact that handicraft is handmade is not the only distinguishing factor but there is a wide cultural divide between a machine made object and the handmade one. As an artifact reflects a particular culture or community, it is a fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of that community. Consequently, handicrafts represent the contemporary society. The 'environment friendly'⁷ or natural artifact not only has a qualitative value from the point of view of health but has a sentimental value as it has a cultural connect as it is made from raw materials available in the immediate surroundings. (Kuntar, 2000: 42) Just a decade ago the domestic utility articles used to be made of safe and harmless natural things like soil, wood, stone etc which are now substituted by raw materials like Plastic, Glass, Iron which cause pollution and are hazardous to nature.

6.1.20 Prior to the machine age men laid equal emphasis on both the beauty and the utility aspects of a hand made thing. But in the age of science and technology, the focus has shifted to the beauty part rather than identifying it as a utility item. If we go by Socrates' definition utility itself is beauty. But the utility value of a craft changes because crafts used for a particular purpose by one generation may not be useful to the next generation for the same purpose. The next generation would have invented substitutes for that purpose. It is observed that the utility value enjoyed by an article

in one generation is eroded. The article /artifact loses its primary utility value though it may retain its secondary value or importance. Thus with passing of time the creation of art items is forgotten from generation to generation. Art is an expression of man's creative skill and artist's ingenuity. Although handicraft is as ancient as man himself, it is its form, which evolves from time to time (Kuntar, 2000: 50)

The Quest

6.1.21 KC's inquisitive mind, keenness to preserve India's cultural values and concern for the poor and the segregated artisan took her to length and breadth of this vast and diverse country. KC preferred to travel to the interior of every craft pocket to gain first hand knowledge. In her article, "*The Crafts as an Embodiment of the Great Folk Tradition*" which formed a part of the UNESCO publication "*The Arts and Man*", KC points out: "I take craftsmanship as referring to a total operation involving emotion, mind body and rhythm which sets up such co-ordination... We must also recognize that craft is as much an expression of the human spirit in material form, which gives delight to mankind as any of what are termed fine arts." (Chattopadhyay, 2007: 55-56).⁸

6.1.22 KC's quest for crafts to nooks and corners of India has been stated recurringly by her associates. The officials dissuaded her because the visits involved at times hazardous journey, physical discomforts, and poor and dirty localities. Her visits to Panchamura across a stream in Bankura district of west Bengal; to a famous woman embroiderer to a village atop a hill with a steep climb to access Chamba in Himachal Pradesh for *rumals*; to Shahpur village, home of the Joshi painters of Rajasthani *phads*; to Ladakh in a cargo plane; to investigate the breakdown in the procurement of fine *Pashm* and *toosh*⁹ wool, to Pochampalli for *telia rumals* and cotton saris, by a rough cart track and so on are but a few which I mention here.

6.1.23 When KC was involved in the search for traditional crafts that seemed worth saving and reviving, she visited the Shankaracharya of Kanchi mutt. The precious treasures like cooking vessels, temple lamps, puja articles like the Kalash (pot), tray, and lamp were procured from the religious places as they are kept aside once they are found to be even slightly damaged and no more worthy of worship. Each design was symbolic and proclaimed the occasion to those who could recognize each individually. Their rare jewellery designs were copied for reproduction by the Handicrafts Design centers, to restore them to the people. KC explored the spectrum of art and crafts and delved deeply into each one of them. The books¹⁰ on handicrafts authored by her are an outcome of deep research carried out by her. As a testimony to her deep knowledge I attempt to give below those details in a nutshell.

Puppetry

6.1.24 KC's deep interest in puppetry has been articulated many experts. And she directed all her efforts to revive traditional forms like Tholpava Koothu (shadow puppets of Kerala), the Pava Kathakali (Glove Puppets of Kerala), and Gombe Atta of Karnataka. Puppetry is claimed to have been originated in India. Stringed puppets are found in Andhra, Rajasthan, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka; rod puppets in Bengal; and glove puppets in Kerala, and Tamil Nadu. Karnataka has a very special Bombeyatta (doll show) based on the popular folk musical drama called Yakshagana. Andhra has probably the largest shadow puppets in India, as *tholu bommalatta*, leather puppets. The leather puppets of Karnataka are known as *thogalu bombeyatta* which vary from region to region like Malnad, Gulbarga and Dharwad. S.A. Krishnaia,¹¹ writes: "Uppinakudru" puppetry came into national prominence in 1966, owing to the encouragement of KC and others." (Krishnaiah, 2004 : 30) Prof. M.S. Rao,¹² writes: "When KC was Vice Chairperson of ICCR, she introduced to the world Karnataka's languishing art of leather puppetry." Further he expresses indebtedness to KC for introducing this folk form to

the world community. (Nanjundaiah, 2003 :92) Closely related to puppets are toys. India has a truly glorious tradition in toys. The excavations starting from Harappa and Mohenjodaro have thrown up a magnificent profusion of clay toys of considerable ingenuity, animals with animal heads, monkeys that slide round a stick and the most skilful toy carts

Metal artifact

6.1.25 Writing about metalware KC identifies the Indian cities, which are world-renowned centers of metal artifacts. Banaras and Moradabad are noted for the variety and excellence of metal ware, both plain as well as ornamental. Bengal and Kerala as also Mysore and Assam are known for bell metal. Ahmedabad has been famous for ornamental braziers, exquisite metal screens and *Pan* boxes. In Almora region of Uttar Pradesh, Vessels are made in two tones, part in brass, part in copper, giving them an unusual richness by alternating in gold and copper shades. Bidri,¹³ a form of damascening in silver was once practised in many parts of India but today lingers only in few, as also in Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. Brass industry of Jaipur, Moradabad, Jagadiri, the Bell-metal industry of Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Kerala which catered only to local markets, the Bronze casting of Swamimalaya in Karnataka to name a few. A Bronze-casting centre with master Sthapathis had brought back the purity of form.

Textiles

6.1.26 KC writes about textiles as:

“Cotton textiles seem to have been prevalent in India from the earliest times. Once again the Indus valley excavations reveal a well developed stage in woven and dyed fabrics...This superb weaving goes back to the Vedic period for there are several references to these beautiful fabrics in the different Vedas...The epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata enumerate them as silks, woollens, fibers, even furs...Madhubani in Bihar and

Ponduru in Andhra are noted for very fine Khadi of the soft gossamer variety...The most famous is Banaras which is known for brocades with its silk and metal ornamentation. Equally elaborate but entirely different in style are Patola of Gujarat and Ikat of Orissa, both following the same technique except that the latter is in Tasser silk and therefore cheaper than the former which is pure heavy silk and more expensive...In cotton the same style is done in Pochampalli and Chirala in Andhra and Sambalpur and other places in Orissa...Chanderi sarees and turbans from Madhya Pradesh are soft and almost ...woven in silk and cotton. Maheshwari, also from Madhya Pradesh, is woven in pure cotton or in silk and cotton...The Baluchars of Bengal which had disappeared but have been revived by the Handicrafts Board, are made in thick silk in dark shades with floral or foliage border, mango for pallav which is formed with breadth wise bands to form a rectangle with compartments...Kanchipuram in Madras state, Arni, Armoor, Dharmavaram in Andhra Pradesh, Kollegal, Mollakarmura in Mysore State are amongst the best known...In cottons, Gadwal, Kothakota, Venkatagiri are excellent and delicately woven and some as fine as gossamer.”(Chattopadhyay,1963: 30-36).

Embroidery

6.1.27 Another area KC touches upon is embroidery. She states

“Embroidery is obviously a very ancient craft in India for it is referred to in the Vedas and the Indian epics...Probably the best known of Indian embroidery is the Kasida of Kashmir...The Kasida is variously classified as under special names. They are *rafugari*, *Zalakdozi*, *Vata-chikan*, *Doria*, *Talaikar* etc... *Phulkari* is embroidery peculiar to Punjab though it is also found in parts

of Rajasthan and a version of it is found in Chamba in Himachal Pradesh...The Karnataka areas of Mysore are famous for a beautiful style known as *Kasuti*. It seems that this found patronage under Chalukya and Vijayanagar rulers. Guledgudda produces Khanns that is blouse pieces with attractive embroidery patterns... Extremely delicate and very suggestive, in plain spotless white is the chicken embroidery of Uttar Pradesh...The Chamba embroidery found in South-Western ranges of the ...They depict scenes from Krishna Leela, Ras dances, ancient legends, the ragas and raginis, in fact, all the subjects covered by the Pahari paintings...The tribal embroidery is a world by itself. The Lamanis and Banjaras use mirrors, shells, beads, metallic pieces etc and embroidery of Todas of Nilgiris has a sculpturesque effect Indian.” (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 43-51)

KC tried in every possible way to use the resources of the AIHB to revive various styles by opening centers for embroidery like *Kantha* in Bengal, *Kasuti* in Karnataka, *Kasida* in Bihar, and for the varied tribal embroideries of Kutch.

Woodwork

6.1.28 KC traces the history of woodwork in India as: “Woodwork, like many other crafts, has a very old tradition, for it is mentioned in the Rig Veda and subsequent ancient books. In Sanskrit, the woodworker is referred to as a Sutradhar,xiv literally ‘the man who holds the strings’, that is a key man...The Silpa Sastra, a treatise on arts and crafts, gives full directions not only on the making of wooden articles and carvings, but even on the selection of trees and felling and for seasoning”(Chattopadhyay,1963 :66). Similarly the wood carving of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Assam, Bihar, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

6.1.29 She disapproved mechanization and its dangerous effects which she expresses as:

“The snapping of the link between the creative impulse and livelihood, that is the inevitable outcome of mechanization; and the introduction of an alien concept of designer as distinct from the craftsman has only destroyed further the craftsman’s natural response to good form...The Indian craftsman is faced with a situation where on the one hand he hears the cry ‘back to the past’ or ‘break with the past’, and produce something new, and on the other hand he is dazzled by the incomprehensible forms evolved by the west after decades of experimentation” (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 70).

6.1.30 KC endorses the dilemma experienced by an Indian artisan as: “To go wholly to the past is impossible, for the past was a background of life that has less and less significance in terms of the new social order. Equally to absorb the western forms has no meaning, for they are alien and have no link with the craftsman’s comprehensions and concepts...As one looks at the Indian handicrafts, one instinctively senses the unity of all arts...whether it is in the *Phulkaris* of Punjab and *Kinkhwabs* of Banaras, or the *Patolas* of Pattan and the *Bandhanis* of Rajasthan, there is a rhythm and harmony”.(Chattopadhyay, 1963: 72) Similarly she adds:

“In the terracottas, particularly the horses, one finds a striking similarity between Gujarat, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Madras which is a testimony enough to the impregnable unity to this country”(Chattopadhyay, 1963: 8).

Carpets

6.1.31 KC’s keen interest in carpets is articulated in her book: *The Carpets and Floor Coverings of India* which like her other books is the outcome of extensive study. She states: “The early Indo Aryans were attracted to beauty

as an attribute of God head and in India, which is one of the cradles of infinite variety of handicrafts, beauty has been endowed with divinity and worshipped.” KC quotes experts like Sir George Bird wood, who researched on the Indian arts and crafts of his time. He comments on the Indian carpets: “few people seem to be able to realize that when buying Oriental carpets they are in fact choosing works of art and not manufacturers’ piece goods produced at competitive prices...no two of them present in the details of their decoration actual repeats of each other.” (Chattopadhyay,1969: 20).

Again KC quotes the eminent art expert Charles Jacobsen that exhibits her depth of knowledge. He pays great tribute to the Indian carpet “I have been amazed at how hand made rugs stand up under heavy traffic. My own table of experience shows some rather high priced domestic rug worn out and replaced where this hand made at not too greater cost shows no wear at all in the same period ... It is my belief that in that time Indian will have out stripped Iran in rug weaving .” (Chattopadhyay, 1969: 63).

Karnataka's Crafts

6.1.32 The two studies that have been conducted on Karnataka Handicrafts in 1960 and 1961 by S.S.Menasinakai, Department of Economics, Karnataka University entitled ‘A Survey of Handicrafts in the Eight districts of Mysore state’ have helped the experts in drawing inferences to make suitable suggestions. KC writes about the crafts and handicrafts of Karnataka¹⁵ in her books: *Indian Handicrafts* and *Handicrafts of India ,Carpets and Floor Coverings Of India*. Chennapatna in Karnataka state holds an honoured place in the lacquerware world. It is an old industry practiced by craftsmen called *Chitragars*, picture makers.Formerly Chennapatna used to make mostly geometrical designs, now other designs are in use like countryside scenes, landscapes,, dance ensembles etc made mostly on wall plaques or plates. Among the picturesque are the colourful *durries* of Navalgund, a small place in Dharwar district of Karnataka state. This was once a woollen carpet weaving

centre but with its decline the expensive wool was replaced by cotton. A special type of durrie called *sutada* is made in parts of Bijapur and Dharwar districts of Karnataka, which has simple horizontal stripes of different colours. Quite distinctive is a sturdy floor covering in striped designs made in Mulgund and Murgod also in Dharwar district, by joining together nine inch pieces to form a full floor covering. Karnataka and Kerala went in for large works in ivory like palace doors, thrones, palanquins, chariots etc. Belgaum in Karnataka, is one of the centres in India well known for hornwork. The sandalwood belt which stretches from Shimoga district to the edge of the northern boundary in Karnataka, covering Sirsi, Siddhapur, Kumta, Honavar has a concentration of wood carvers known as *gudigars*. Their womenfolk show equal skill, imagination and taste in making pith flowers, garlands, and wreaths for the hair as also coronets for the marriage and for the harvest dance. Toys are torches which guide children into adult life, for it is through them that they are initiated into the inner mysteries, traditions, faiths and mores of the world they are to enter. Amongst lacquered toys the Chennapatna in Karnataka, are rated high. Lacturney seems to have been an indigenous industry in Chennapatna by artisans known as *Chitragars* over a great many years. The centre known for educational toys of Mysore, in the city itself is half a century old and has been a pioneer in this field. Belgaum, also in Karnataka, has several centres, which make fretwork pieces, also known for educational toys. An old and famous toy industry is of Gokak in Belgaum district...Toy making seems to be hereditary among these craftsmen called *Jingars*. Kinnal was once known for occupational toys, showing people working at different jobs. Now preference seems to be more for figures, birds and animals...One may say it is a Kinnal¹⁶ characteristic. Raichur in Karnataka has been noted for leather with metallic gold or silvery finish or painted with figures or animals; mostly to form epic scenes. A special kind of art is 'ganjifa'¹⁷ practiced in Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka. A rather unique item in this painting is the pack of cards known as *ganjifa*.

6.1.33 A new Centre for Tibetan Carpets has been established in Bylakoppe, Mysore state, as a part of the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees. The weavers and their durries in Navalgund near Dharwar in Karnataka were discovered by AIHB. Because of their unique picturesqueness, an attempt was made to revive these durries...The authorities of the Dharwar Vocational School for crafts readily came forward to train craftsmen in this style of durrie weaving. Durries are also made from left-lovers of sari looms and called Sutada, at Rabkavi, Banhatti, and Mahalingapur in Bijapur district, Sangli and Ranibennur and Lakshmeshwar in the Dharwar district.

Rejuvenation

6.1.34 It is noteworthy that the phraseology 'resuscitation or rejuvenation'¹⁸ of Indian handicrafts' has been used recurringly in the context of KC. Freedom to India brought with it a plethora of problems which the Indian leaders strived to come to terms with. The challenges confronted by the Indian cultural fraternity needed to be attended to urgently. The art forms and handicrafts undergoing a phase of cultural bankruptcy needed to be revived forthwith. At the outset as no information about handicrafts and artisans was available, a committee of economists, social workers and market experts was formed under the leadership of KC which took up an extensive survey. It analyzed the problems faced in this connection and the central and state governments were provided with complete information. Various supportive measures were taken to revive the languishing handicrafts resulting in increase in demand for Indian handicrafts in the foreign markets. By earning more foreign exchange it played a vital role in the developing economy of India. AIHB set up one of the most important institutions that is the Handicrafts Museum. Apart from traditional craftsmen, the AIHB, gave encouragement to individual artists/craftsmen for organizing exhibitions of their work under its auspices and encouraging them to participate in fairs abroad to make their work known to the world at large. The Central Handicrafts Development Centre(CHDC) works for the revival of the craft by exploring the traditional

skill, collecting, old samples securing orders for traditional items, guiding the craftsmen in technical matters providing them tools and equipment, etc, by constant visits of the field officers, Technical personnel, etc. The AIHB also concerns itself with technological development of the crafts by introducing new tools and small machines to save craftsmen the drudgery¹⁹ of ordinary routine work to save time and energy. It tried to provide craftsmen with processed and scarce raw materials at special rates. Wood seasoning centers and dyeing centers were set up for convenience of the industry. KC initiated a scheme under which four Design Centers were opened at Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi in Feb 1958.

6.1.35 It was the Cottage Industries Board (CIB) which was transformed into the All India Handicrafts and Handloom Board. The bifurcation into Handicrafts and handloom occurred later. Multifarious activities were taken up like the establishment of the vegetable and flower gardens. CIE set up a flower shop '*MALLIKA*' which was a challenging task, as there was no previous experience on which to build the work. In the CIB, L.C. Jain, the Member Secretary appointed by her, and by Kitty Shiva Rao and Pupul Jayakar the Vice-President and member respectively, assisted KC. Karnataka state Handicrafts Development Board Limited was formed in 1964 with the many objectives. Regional Design and Technical Development Centre Bangalore, was established in 1958 by AIHB to carry out research work with a view to revive and revitalize age-old traditional and hereditary crafts.

6.1.36 KC helped restore self-respect and livelihood to tens of thousands of craftsmen and women, and saw to it that they kept their skills and traditions alive. The AIHB under her Chairmanship established the following: a) Pilot centers for certain crafts to stimulate their growth; B) Training centers for the revival of languishing crafts; c) Regional Design Development Centers to design inputs for the crafts; d) Research and Technical wing for developing improved tools and equipment with a view to reducing the drudgery of labour, and for revival of natural vegetable dyes; e) Bronze Production Centre to arrest

the profusion of fake icons; and f) Regional offices to administer to the needs of the units mentioned above. (Ayyangar, 2003 : 54)

6.1.37 L.C.Jain, the Member Secretary of AIHB and eminent economist was a member of the team, which undertook the survey. He states that it took 18 months when crafts persons all over India were interviewed and the First comprehensive All India Report on Handicrafts was released in 1954. This Report was presented by KC at conferences in Trivandrum and New Delhi. AIHB organized 500 exhibitions in three years and KC not only initiated a separate Export cell for promotion of exports but also advised different state governments to start their own handicrafts emporia. The Cottage Industries Emporium run by AIHB was handed over to the ICU to rid the former of any bureaucratic interference. KC took up issues like Planning, Research, Marketing, Design development, and Technical development, Publicity etc. One significant measures²⁰ taken by her was the execution of Apprenticeship Training Scheme. Five to six boys with traditional background were chosen and trained by each craftsman on the Gurukula²¹ pattern. Another significant feature introduced was to organize large exhibition cum sales at annual conferences where the craftsmen from each center brought the artifacts. (Jain, 2003 :3) The type of work undertaken by KC reflects a keen foresight and managerial and organizing skills of a high order.

6.1.38 In the case Pochampalli for *telia rumals* and cotton saris, the AIHB activated the Andhra Pradesh government to provide necessary credit and raw material, and a Cooperative Society was formed. Delhi blue pottery then on the verge of extinction survived owing to her personal interventions. When KC was the Chairman of the AIHB, she was able to promote with Venkataraman, some of his projects, especially preserving the beautiful Toda embroidery.

6.1.39 In 1968 her endeavors to rejuvenate the Bhoota Icons of Shiriyar²² village near Udupi have been recorded by experts. The incident

has been stated by researcher Gayatri Navada and art expert Vijay Nath Shenoy that the 400 years old Mekkekatte Uru/s which had been abandoned as they were partly damaged, were donated by the Kolkebyle temple authorities to KC on her request. She immediately placed orders for the duplication of the old pieces and ordered the CHDC to actively work on this project of reviving the traditions of this craft. Appu Gudigar of Basrur with other craftsmen from Delhi made the duplicates of the Bhoota Icons. In 1968 KC established new Uru/s at Mekkekatte and the old ones were transferred to Delhi's Handicrafts Museum at Pragati Maidan. It further involved negotiations with the local literary figures and scholars who opposed this transfer. KC writes in her Memoirs that this was blown out of proportion and she was accused (to the prime minister) of taking away images from ancient temples, by bluffing the owners. The temple authorities were enraged and would not allow the old figures to move out. Dr. Stella Kramrisch, the noted American Indologist had borrowed two of the Bhoota Sculptures and had taken them to America after insuring them for 10,000 \$. KC writes in her *Memoirs*: "The experts' opinion was that they were at least 800 years old. I faced a knotty situation, for all these transactions had been conducted verbally with no documents with signatures." (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :13)

6.1.40 Puppetry was one of the many art forms KC revived in India. The artist who deserves mention is the puppeteer from Karnataka, Uppinakudru Devanna Kamat who had decided to give up Puppetry; abandon his puppets and go to Bombay in search of livelihood. But KC watched his programme and inspired him to continue his art. Owing to the timely intervention of KC Uppinakudru Devanna Kamat rose to the heights of winning a national award. In the Indian context the indigenous art, craft and the folk forms pass from generation to generation. The living examples are Uppinakudru Devanna Kamat, Kogga Kamat, and Bhaskar Kamat, father, son, grandson trio, who are master puppeteers of International eminence. (Shenoy, 2004 : Udayavani: 4)

6.1.41 At Poona KC was associated with Verrier Elwin²³ an English missionary, who played a strategic role in the emergence of the Tribal world of India. When KC was the Chairman of AIHB and toured North Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA) and Nagaland in 1962, she arranged an exhibition of Tribal crafts of the Northeast, which Verrier Elwin inaugurated. KC shared common interest with Verrier Elwin as regards the problem of Tribal crafts. Before submitting her report about tribal crafts to the Government of India, she sought Verrier Elwin's reaction to her assessment and recommendations. KC's book '*Tribalism in India*' (1978) is dedicated to Verrier Elwin, with whose aid she began the AIHB's programme of rejuvenation of the crafts of NEFA.

6.1.42 In Warangal, Andhra Pradesh a Cooperative was rehabilitated by the AIHB as poor quality wool used by the artisans was causing loss to them. The carpet weavers in Warangal, make carpets both in wool and silk. A good specimen of this can also be seen in Central Museum, Jaipur, said to be presented by the Nizam of Hyderabad to the then Maharaja...The AIHB made a special feature of them in its Carpet Exhibition and they proved very popular. In 1957 KC wrote the Foreword to Nelly Sethna's book on Kalamkari and the miserable state of the Kalamkari cooperative at Masulipatnam. Venkatswami Naidu, the head of the *Kalamkari* cooperative in Masulipatnam, had decided to close down his activity for want of money. AIHB provided him with Rs 5000 to set up a Development Centre and he was persuaded to make only three saris initially, which were bought by the AIHB members themselves. In 1980s when KC revisited Masulipatnam, Venkatswami Naidu proudly told her they had bank reserves of Rs 200,000.

6.1.43 Another case was that of the weavers of Banaras. Anand Krishna, the Founder-Director of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum at Banaras Hindu University (BHU), in his book *Banaras Brocades* published in 1966 refers to the degeneration that had overtaken Banaras Textiles where the weavers had been happily copying English floral patterns from wallpapers and

bathroom tiles. KC initiated a scheme 'Textile Revival Scheme' wherein the weavers' expertise was given a fresh lease of life by their visit to Surat.

6.1.44 The issue of outdated looms was another area which was attended to by the AIHB. As the looms were old and crude weavers in Sasaram in Shahbad district in Bihar, were introduced to new designs with tribal motifs. This manifested that they were skilled artisans who could make any kind of design.

6.1.45 KC visited Kinnal in Koppal district of Karntaka in 1962 and gave Kinnal art a place of honour in the Indian handicrafts scene which in turn gave further boost to the art writes S. Sengupta,²⁴ Officer-in-Charge, Central Handicrafts Development Centre, Bangalore. He states that the famous mural paintings in the Pampapateshwara temple and the intricate carvings in wooden chariot at Hampi, are believed to be made by the ancestors of the Kinnal mastercraftsmen. They were patronized by the kings of Vijayanagar dynasty, the Salar Jung and the Maharajas of Mysore This art came to light again in 1960 when Narayanappa Chitragar,²⁵ a Karnataka State Lalita Kala Academy awardee of 1990 was invited to Mysore. Narayanappa met KC at Bangalore during an Award distribution function. Presently, he trains several talented artists in this art form.

6.1.46 She visited Sanganeer and found the *Chipas* the printers desperately printing only for the rural market. KC brought together Surjit Sahay Director of the Craft School and Gayatri Devi the Maharani Jaipur, to lend old textiles and blocks from the City Palace Museum. She was the first to enthuse the Sangneer printers to produce the fine quality print. The anxiety of KC to penetrate the villages and the cities alike is testified by her associate Jasleen Dhamija when she writes:

"I began working with Kamaladeviji in November 1954...we worked in Rajasthan travelling through out. One day she was in bunga in the desert village of Sam, where water was a luxury,

reviving the camel hair durrees...The next day...in search of the Phardh in Shahpura and the Kavadh in the village of Bassi near Chittorgarh. The next day we were in the Palace..." (Dhamija,2003: 13-15)

Promotion

6.1.47 KC took up several promotional activities by founding and co-founding Institutions and Organizations, which continue to flourish till date. Establishing these demanded a foresight, which came into full play when experts and artists joined hands for the upliftment of the Indian cultural forms. Crafts Council of India (CCI) was established in Madras in 1976 with KC as its president, Vijaya Rajan as the Chairperson and Sita Krishnan as the Secretary. KC was the Vice-Chairman of the World Crafts Council (WCC) and she realized that Americans and Europeans dominated the WCC. Consequently, she saw the need for an Indian Chapter, which became a reality. CCI works for the preservation of craft and for better quality of life for the crafts persons. It has the Head office at Chennai and has a network of Crafts Councils in ten states: Assam, Andhra, Delhi, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. Its role is to ensure and find right market to the craftsmen and the fair price he deserves; conduct periodic exhibitions and undertake orders for the craftsmen and provide visibility to him. CCI holds seminars and documents the discussions. It aims at finding new markets and consolidating the old and give technical and marketing guidance to the crafts, which have lost their traditional market. The handloom sector established Weavers Service Centers (WSC) and institutes of handloom technology in every state. 24 WSC were established to help weavers for improvement of their design and technical skills. WSCs interact with individual weavers, cooperatives besides the exporters and stay tuned to the needs of a changing market and provide wherewithal to the weavers to adapt to the market.

6.1.48 KC was the founder patron of Crafts Council of Karnataka (CCOK), started in 1967, is dedicated to the promotion and development of traditional arts and crafts of Karnataka. She organized exhibitions, helped artists, to attend international and national exhibitions with their articles. The Moscow Art Exhibition was a step in this direction. Once the crafts were identified and craftsmen located, the next step was to see that craft was preserved and developed. Exhibition at Moscow brought enormous build up of handicraft trade with East European countries. The Design Centers collected traditional designs and suitably modified them seeing to it that their basic integrity of shape or material was not lost. She insisted on having some new designs at every AIHB meeting telling the members, "These are our agenda papers." These designs were then sent to the craftsmen of the area who were given technical assistance and other facilities for the reproduction of the designs. Pilot Project Centers (PPC) were opened for the revival of old crafts, some of which had almost died out.

6.1.49 Central Cottage Industries Emporium (CCIE) known as 'Cottage' was formed in 1948 to preserve and share traditional craftsmanship on a global basis. KC aimed at elimination of middlemen through establishment of the CCIE. This showcases the handicrafts and handlooms sourced from all over the country from dedicated artisans famed nationally and internationally. In this way it has transformed itself into an effective and efficient enterprise to present the dynamic Indian culture to the world outside. Today the 'Cottage' has its logo "The Bankura Horse", which constitutes a hallmark of tradition, quality and authenticity. It is a fair trading partner, with an overriding motto of servicing the interests of craftsmen and makes available the high quality products to its customers. In 1991, a cottage industries scheme by name 'Vishwa' was started. In 1971-72, all the Cottage Industries were nationalized. The CCIEs are situated all over India. CCIE through its own artists and by the artists deputed by it, collects the artifacts and sells

them through Emporium in the exhibitions. 50% of the customers are Indian and the rest are exported to foreign countries.

6.1.50 KC envisioned versatility in crafts by exposure of the Indian craftsmen through programs like workshops and clinics. At Bangalore she organized an Asian Workshop for the Asian craftsmen from 23 April 1980 to 3 May 1980. KC appointed Anasuaya Pavanje as its Coordinator. (Pavanje, 2003 :48) KC's area of activity was not confined to art and craft of a particular region or type. She involved herself in a variety of handicrafts scattered over various regions in different Indian states. She set up a centre for the manufacture of musical instruments on authentically traditional lines in Madras. She decided to support the Vegetable Dye Research Project started by Rukmini Devi Arundale at Kalakshetra. It was brought under AIHB as a full-fledged laboratory and K.U. Chandramouli carried out his major research on vegetable dyes, which brought him into limelight internationally. Kalakshetra was already functioning to revive the traditional Kancheepuram weaves.

6.1.51 Belagallu Veeranna a leather puppeteer from Bellary, Karnataka mentions that he was helped financially by the Chairperson of the SNA, KC who encouraged him to continue performing puppetry. (Hanumantappa, 2008 :2)

6.1.52 KC's initiatives with Color Man testify to her innovative perspective and manifest how she impacted the skilled men towards achieving higher goals. As she nurtured a keen interest about cultural forms right from her childhood she got acquainted with a young man who dyed the fabrics²⁶ and KC named him as Colour Man. After her return from a trip abroad she found that he had left. After some years she found him again in Bangalore and he had transformed himself into a yogi and lived in a cave. Again KC lost track of the Colour Man but discovered him after decades as Swami Ramdas. He had started an Ashram near her hometown. The Swami was setting up a Craft Centre and wanted her help. KC discovers that the Swami

was her Colour Man. Swami Ramdas drew up plans to concentrate on rural crafts by recruiting and training young people under master craftsmen. And this Anandashram of Swamiji's was drawing large crowds not only from India but also from foreign lands and marketing its products.

6.1.53 Vimala Rangachar,²⁷ the Chairperson of CCOK and an associate of KC has been working to relaunch Ilkal sarees in natural dyes as a fashion statement. Ilkal a town in Bijapur district of North Karnataka is known for its sarees. The intellectual elite who is keener on comfort prefers these sarees. Consequently, Ilkal saree has become a fashion statement with this class. The CCOK, attempts to highlight Karnataka's contribution to the International Natural Dye Symposium and it has decided to hold a workshop to help the Ilkal weavers to re-learn the art of mixing natural dyes. The development initiative of CCOK is to tap the opportunities for this garment in natural dyes to create a new market. The bannagarus, (dyers) the traditional dyers of Ilkal, use mostly black, red, and yellow obtained from vegetable sources like the Indigo plant, madder and turmeric roots. In the Indian context 'the color' holds a prominent place and the dye is extracted from herbs, minerals, insects, pests etc.

6.1.54 A close associate of KC and an Craft expert Jasleen Dhamija states that words like 'craft' and 'heritage' carry a lot of baggage with them. In the Indian context, they are especially emotive. In India, the choice is often between a craftsman's child learning ancestral skills while remaining illiterate, on the one hand, or getting a conventional education, on the other hand. Given the very poor levels of rural and state-provided education, this formal schooling might not actually equip him or her for any job in the future.

6.2. CAUSES FOR DEGRADATION

6.2.1 The British had pursued a policy to deliberately discourage the indigenous industry in India as it came into conflict with their own products.

The Indian craftsman habituated to a climate of patronage was suddenly exposed to competition. He was unable to come to terms with a hostile market which colonialism had left behind. The regular network of schools in villages, the Indian manufacturers, arts and handicrafts were totally disintegrated. The craftsmen lost the strong support of patronage hitherto enjoyed by him besides losing their aesthetic touch. Want of marketing knowledge and poverty weakened him further and paved the way for exploitation by middlemen. Thus colonialism led to marginalization of Indian traditional arts and crafts. The finished goods of Britain flooded the Indian markets. Colonialism affected the cultural heritage of India negatively. The educated Indian youth were divided in their approaches about English education. A section of the population aped western culture and adopted western style of living as they considered it to be modern. In compliance with the Gandhian thought Indian leaders realized the significance of preserving our cultural heritage. KC was aware that the struggle against colonial rulers went beyond politics to cultural colonialism. She aimed at elevating the Indian artisan who was at the lowest level of poverty and restore to him the status of 'supplier of services to the villages', which the British policy had totally undermined. The west's objective was aesthetic and decorative as against the Indian context where crafts serve a totally utilitarian need. It is a part of daily life and is aimed at transforming the purely functional object into a sublime work of art.

6.2.2 The adverse impact of industrial revolution on indigenous handicraft industry has been stated as: "The industrial revolution impacted negatively the traditional Indian handicrafts .The traditional artisan/artist in the Indian villages was jolted when the goods flowed into villages from city-centric industries .The machine made things being cheaper gradually pervaded the space hitherto occupied by the handicrafts. The artist resorted to the job of repairing of the machine made goods. With the increase in cost of production and transportation, the price of industry produced goods increased resulting in these goods acquiring prestige. Consequently, the costlier industry

produced things were preferred to the native indigenous.”(Kuntar,2000 :47-48)

6.2.3 Presently the scene has reversed. Although handicrafts are costlier than industry made crafts, handicrafts are preferred because they embody the value and qualities like beauty, design, technical skill and traditional consciousness. The art forms like pottery, weaving gold and silver smithery are raised to the level of ‘fine arts’ and have been taught in the art schools. The techniques taught are traditional but the focus of learning is not on the traditional part but on the creative technical design. The government is either ignorant or biased about handicrafts although in the human history agriculture and handicrafts were born simultaneously.

6.2.4 KC desired to train women in crafts because colonial policies had extinguished cottage industries, severely affecting women who were the principal producers. It was an attempt at income generation for women not to create museum pieces for export. “They (British) wanted to undermine us and make us feel worthless... For their own art schools, they brought Englishmen to head them....but what they taught in those schools were pale copies of western schools. So the resurgence of cultural activity was very important, we had to build our own sense of appreciation....” (Narasimhan,1999 :77) KC to Jyoti Sabharwal, for *Celebrity* in 1984)

6.2.5 K.C disapproved of the policy of commercialization or commodification of art. This approach was conspicuous during a National Seminar being attended by the then Governor of Karnataka, Govind Narayan at Bangalore. KC strongly objected to a senior official’s words asking the craftsmen to produce artifacts as per the market demands to attract exports. By intending to elevate the economic status of the craftsman she did not intend to sideline nation’s interest. Her focus was to preserve the individuality or Indianness of the artifact which made it unique. By doing so she was saving the Indian craftsman from falling into the trap of exploitation. She

was aware of the dangers of commercialization and the culture of world Fairs, Festivals etc. The handicrafts industry grew enormously due to the support and encouragement from AIHB and earned foreign exchange for India through exports.

6.2.6 For her the crafts were not 'merchandise for exports'.²⁸ She criticized the trend of 'boutiques' and 'designers' 'aping the alien winds blowing from the west, 'whose interventions were not guided by the spirit of adopting traditional items to contemporary usage.' Public criticism compelled government to appoint the Haskar Committee, which condemned commercialization of 'packaged culture.' Her stress on 'the quality of experience arising out of direct creation' explains her philosophy of crafts. In *Marg* issue of embroidery she delineates another aspect of her philosophy as 'critical choices are posed before the people between the genuine creative and the imitative, the discerning who respects and recognizes the significance of a living tradition.' This explains her definition of art being 'creative and not imitative.' (Nanda, 2002 :142)

6.2.7 KC's concern for the Indian artisan and her disapproval of imitation of the Western style and a sense of immediacy towards action is revealed in her remark to Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan. She asked her to popularize Indian handicrafts in Bombay, "All these fads about 'foreign' things must go!.. Craftsmen are leaving their trade and going into factories...Do something soon ..." (Taleyarkhan, 2003 :7)

6.2.8 Sampige Tontadarya draws a parallel between colonialism and globalization and states: "The fallout of colonialism in India was not only economic bankruptcy but a cultural void of a dangerous magnitude. If left unchecked it threatened to hollow the very roots of Indian ethos. Globalization does not comply with KC's vision of man's creative instinct inspired by nature. With increase in scientific and technological development the Indian artisan found himself marginalized and on the verge of extreme poverty." (Tontadarya, 2003 :38)

KC's close associate Jasleen Dhamija apprehends: "To us, who look at the new millennium and seek new directions for India, the potential of Crafts and craftspeople is something to which younger generation should be sensitized. Let us not lose sight of the fact that every ten years we lose 10% of our craftspeople .In the backdrop of this the onslaught of globalization needs to be tackled."

6.2.9 KC discusses the aspect of uniqueness or individuality in each handicraft and the stiff competition it has to face against machine made products as:

"A Craftsman has to combine beauty with utility and make the product, still embody the old symbol. He has to cater to a customer thousands of miles away and unknown to him, unlike the intimate community in which he lived in olden times. He has to remain loyal to the traditions of his heritage. He is expected to produce goods, which can with stand competition with machine products, he is also expected to produce the precision and finish with his fingers and hands. Each craft is highly complicated involving numerous processes. It is also very individualistic and local. As each craft differs from region to region, each has its own traditional ways of production and its own design, shape, color etc. The craftsman are scattered some here and some there. In some cases the craft is reduced to a few individuals who are almost lost in the interiors of the villages and have to be sought and villages combed to find them. Even though millions are engaged in handicrafts all over the country, they are never found in large concentrations."(Chattopadhyay,1963: 73)

6.2.10 Jasleen Dhamija KC's associate discusses KC's encounters with the economic planners and asserts that KC had to convince the economists that craft industry was neither a non-productive welfare activity nor an

exploitation of labor as Marxists took it to be. It was a difficult task for her to impress upon the planning commission that a creative expression needed to be viewed as a commodity which needed a marketing strategy and needed to be considered as an economic activity. To evolve a development programme for handicrafts, KC got the advice of Prof. P.N. Dhar²⁹ and Dr. Raj Krishna. Craft expert of international of renown Jasleen Dhamija analyses the questions faced by the craft sector and offers a set of suggestions. She states: "The seminar on 23rd March 2003, 'celebrating crafts' was a good example of confusion existing in understanding this sector." She questions, "In a country as diverse and multidimensional as India, there is no one single solution or methodology? She suggests the whole issue is of developing the problem-solving skills of the crafts persons. It also requires that the knowledge, the skill of the masters and crafts be to be made a part of formal education system, just like music, dance and other performing arts.

6.3. Vision/ Mission

"When I look back over last fifty years", says Dr Kapila Vatsayan,³⁰ "KC's role was so great that what she did outside politics was as important as what Gandhi did in politics in terms of national resurgence. (Narasimhan,1999 :98)

The words of Kapila Vatsayan seem to draw a parallel between Gandhi and KC. Her non-political endeavors after India's independence are as multifarious as they were before independence. Quite admittedly the nation and the human being formed the core of her mission structure before independence. Likewise, although she remained away from the power structures, art and the human being besides the nation formed the core of her vision concept after independence. All her responses were prompted by her concern for the 'other' rather than herself or her family and her strong conviction in 'doing' rather than saying. She can be equated to a manager or a Management Guru in modern sense of the word. Her domain after India's

independence was that of rehabilitation, reconstruction, resuscitation, revival and all those activities, which were human/nation-centric and art/craft-centric.

6.3.1 KC's philosophy of crafts had the underlying base of Gandhism which was reflected in her stress on indigenouslyness and self reliance. The formulation of her mission structure of culture was guided not only by the persons like Tagore, G. Venkatachalam, Verrier Elwin, Rukminidevi Arundale but also by her nationalist and humanist concerns. Besides, it was a practice of Gandhism in letter and spirit which she endorses: "The craftsman's position in an agricultural society was pivotal as it made the village society self-contained, a characteristic of India which inspired in Gandhiji the dream of 'Sarvodaya', a self supporting community which stood for the good of all...The artisan made things for the use of the people around him and not much for sale in a distant market place." (Chattopadhyay, 1963: 3-4).

6.3.2 In conformity with Gandhi's view she had realized the importance of doing with one's hands. Gandhi's emphasis of spinning by hand, in the face of increasing mechanization, appears an anachronism to those who do not see the underlying significance of manual work. In this regard she pursued Gandhi's policy to the core. Her vision of Swaraj extended beyond nationalistic issues, to cultural resurgence and her efforts have made the Indian handicrafts export-worthy earning huge foreign exchange for our country. Gandhiji included handicrafts in his constructive program which he pinpoints in *Harijan* of 27 March 1949.

6.3.3 In her autobiography *Memoirs* she discusses the influences which formulated her perspectives and convictions. She writes about home environment and her association with G. Venkatachalam in the domain of handicrafts, which ultimately formulated itself as one of her life's missions. She states it as: 'With my background of an innate preference for the genuine traditional article of everyday use, I eagerly began to imbibe their history, the nature of craftsmanship that went into each, and the breath taking delicacy of the lines,

the significance of the designs, the long processes involving tremendous patient labor. Each had a message for us, each was like a new door opening to lead one into an expanding world that I later find limit less. It kept enticing me into a quest that became one of my life's missions.' (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :67)

6.3.4 Taking forward the legacy of Gandhiji of use of hands, the emphasis on Swadeshi and preservation of Indian heritage and the concept of Indian craft she writes: "Gandhiji then expounded what was then considered one of his weird philosophies but now proved scientific, the need for using our hands, one of our chief mediums for creative expressions ...Therefore in the Indian tradition, craftsmanship does not mean making novel and exotic articles to please one's fancy, but endowing everything we use in our daily life with beauty .Therefore nothing is created without a purpose." (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :68)

6.3.5 KC was inspired and guided about the emerging art world, by G. Venkatachalam.³¹ He possessed a deep knowledge of the Indian cultural expressions and forms; philosophy, literature, music, dance, sculpture, architecture and handicrafts. He set up of crafts Design centers for the AIHB in various regions for reorientation of craft objects. KC states: "I took long stimulating instructive tours with him" (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 68).

6.3.6 In her mission cultural renaissance, she experimented to create a new design of living to fulfill our daily needs through aesthetic handcrafted objects. Her vision was to properly channelise and adapt to our folk forms the scientific spirit and the technology to give them a new dimension, which would be a two-in-one phenomenon by which we could conserve as well as evolve our art forms. For eradication of poverty and unemployment and development of our village, Gandhiji envisioned revival of our traditional cottage industries and handicrafts. He made KC understand the deep relationship of handicrafts with our daily life. Bapu said about handicrafts: "to live with them and make them an integral part of our every day existence." (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :67-68)

6.3.7 KC equated an artists's status with that of the president of India. She did not have qualms in doing so which is revealed during an incident which is recorded by her biographer Shakauntala Narasimhan. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed the former president of India gave away the annual awards to eminent artists. As a formality the organizers thanked the president of India for the occasion. KC interrupted the speaker with words: "I don't know who is honoring whom? It is the artists who are honoring us by their presence here..." This incident is indicative of her the deep regard for the artists. (Narasimhan,1999, :157)

6.3.8 In 1965 Lalji Malhore, a tribal metal worker from Ranchi and Surya Narain, a Jala weaver from Andhra, were among others who received National awards from the President of India. An Indian craftsman who was marginalized lost his anonymity and became known to the world.

6.3.9 KC's disapproval of commercialization or commodification of the India's crafts industry reflects itself in the incident when the then Governor of Karnataka Govindnarayan Participated in a programme where a senior government officer advocated increase in export of Handicrafts by identifying and making handicrafts as per the needs of the foreigners abroad. KC was extremely unhappy about the remark of the officer she was against any such thing. She said, "I have not heard such insulting words about our arts till now." She states that India needs to attract foreign buyers by retaining the uniqueness of our crafts and not by being dictated by market demands. Dr. Kapila Vatsayan of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Delhi had wanted to organize a Chidambaram festival, which was opposed by KC and Rukmini Devi Arundale stating that it would commercialise the temple shrine.

6.3.10 KC's endeavors were aimed at making Indian craftsman economically strong through elevation of his cultural forms. A researcher who has studied the Bhoota Icons of Dakshina Kannada district writes of KC:

“After India’s independence when the national leaders were striving for economic development, unlike them KC thought of building India culturally... KC foresaw long ago that our cultural heritage was endangered by centuries of Englishman’s presence in our country and we perceive and apprehend a similar onslaught on our uniqueness and dignity in the context of globalization.” (Navada,2004 :59)

6.3.11 KC conceived a replication of village *melas* (fairs) as a forum for folk artists and crafts to bring the urban Indian closer to this heritage. She organized an informal mela at her house in Delhi in 1978 which she called the ‘*Bhule Bisre Kalakar*’³² Kamaladevi valued village fairs as villages symbolize creative activity. A village to her meant a unit which integrates art and Craft which ensures freshness and eco-friendliness of the product. Indian villages present a platform where the producer, the seller and the buyer have a direct access to one another. She was aware of the multidimensional view possessed by the villagers, which integrated the Microcosm with the Macrocosm (Gulvadi, 2003 :67).

6.3.12 “Beauty”, KC said, “was not the prerogative of the rich alone beyond the reach of the ordinary man, but in an increasingly mechanized society, it lay unnoticed and disregarded in the humble cottages of rural India” and she advocated to make “Art education” a part of school Curriculum. KC decided to frame programs for improvement of economic condition of the artisans, which would uplift the artists and conserve their arts. Handicrafts held a special place in Gandhiji’s heart. He saw them not only as the lifeblood of the country but also as the basic unit for the education of a child.

6.3.13 Shakuntala Narasimhan, KC’s biographer points out that KC redefined ‘fashion’ as: “She it was she who turned the concept of fashion upside down, so that today it is synthetic fabric and machine made goods that are looked down upon as cheap and vulgar, while handcrafted goods and handloom textiles are “chic” not only in our own country but the world over.”(Narasimhan,1999 : 76)

6.3.14 One of her everlasting contributions is her survey of the Zari making cottage and powerloom industry. The Board introduced quality control measures and strove to expand Zari production. Had this not been done in time, there would have been no Zardozi embroidery today. Her visit to Vallathol's Kalamandalm prompted her for the regeneration of the folk performing arts like Lai Haroba of Manipur, Sattriya Vaishnava dances of Assam, and Kavada of Tamil Nadu through SNA

6.3.15 In 1980 a workshop was organized in Bangalore for which participants came from 28 countries. This incident is indicative of her concern and empathy for craftsmen. She had directed that best of facilities be provided to them. On finding discrepancy in the daily allowance between the foreign and Indian craftsmen, she frowned at the organizer, 'you can't lower the prestige of craftsmen.' KC alone had the foresight and will to champion the cause of the artisans. KC started the plan of Pension to the artists and started the national awards and honours for the artists.(Kamat, 2000 :35)

6.3.16 "Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay the well known Indian politician is an ardent collector and Connoisseur of Indian embroideries and ancient hand-woven sarees which she often wears with great charm and dignity. Amongst the thinking few, Mrs. Kamaladevi found that it was but a poor exchange to trade our heritage for a memory, was one of the first women pioneers to start an artistic revival in Indian textile art..." Art in Early Indian Life by Shakuntala Thampi (Chattopadhyay,1939 : 59)

6.3.17 Jasleen Dhamija States that from 1960s the finest of handicrafts and the finest of printed silks and cottons could be purchased at the store round the corner and India's craft exports touched over 9000 crores. There were no large stores to buy the required articles for maintenance of homes and work places. Products of one area were unknown in other areas KC met the chief ministers of all the states who had been with her in freedom struggle, elicited their support in evolving institutional structures; budgetary allocations

for assisting crafts persons. Products made, were for a known clientele and for festive occasions with no large retail outlets except in some urban centres. Mostly objects were custom made.

6.3.18 The large printing centres of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat printed only for local peasantry. KC got the help of craft school at Jaipur, to revive the refined printed textiles, being made in royal Kharkhanas and introduced their printing into Sanganeer, besides the similar work she carried out in, Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat resulting in emergence of rich vibrant printing industry and export market.(Dhamija,2003 :16)

6.3.19 Right from 1950s, handicrafts were incorporated into India's economic planning and acknowledged both for their aesthetic qualities and their earning potential. Cooperative movement was riddled with problems of mismanagement and division of castes, sub sects and creed. Respect for the craftsperson and for the art of craftsmanship is the integral aim of the recommendations. Allied is our awareness that the continuing existence of an extraordinary richness of craft traditions and producers is one of India's unique assets as it searches for its own identity in a world that is increasingly uniform and technological.

6.3.20 The state government took the initiative as in the case of Mahabalipuram school of Architecture and stone carving headed by Vaidyanathan Sthapathi³³. It is worth noticing that AIHB carried out supportive and protective policies as a whole with a small budget and none of its activities were subsidized. Yet they have sustained as viable economic activities.

6.4 Continuing the Aesthetic Legacy

6.4.1 KC's associates and the artists have been endeavoring to keep her legacy alive. Both the public sector and the private sector are involved in this field. The artisan/artist labors under the impact of globalization as he did to confront the after effects of colonialism. The highly scientific and

technological age poses new threats to the Indian artisan. Nevertheless as a stakeholder he has the supportive Institutions, which cushion these threats. The artisan can as well use technology to his advantage and come out with innovative utility products taking care not to sacrifice the uniqueness or the Indian ness. Likewise in the changing modern context the innovative utility items have been created. The utility of an item is the deciding factor of the shape and design of it. From the view point of environmental pollution there is a need to use the natural artifacts. There is a sentimental link between a handicraft and its use because each handicraft is made from elements of our environment. Most of the times it has a qualitative value from the point of view of health, as they are made from the raw materials available in several places. These have a cultural connect and a sentimental value. In modern times the artisan is endangered with extinction. In view of the above, handicrafts industry needs protection. Nowadays handicrafts have become showpieces exhibited in the museums and showcases.

Museum is a western concept ...The legacy of conservation of traditional handicrafts has been taken over by art experts like Vijayanath Shenoy at Manipal in Karnataka, who contends that: "The cultural link with the handicrafts would be snapped if they are placed in the museums."(Kuntar,2000 :46)

KC's contemporary Pupul Jayakar pursued a craft policy, which differs, from KC's in the sense that she believed in glorifying Indian handicraft at the cost its 'Indian ness.' Nevertheless she acknowledges the missionary contribution of KC as: KC was a woman of incomprehensible imagination and Knowledge not of craft or of peoples art, but a comprehension that without great treasure which India had, if it were allowed to die, if the people who practiced it were not given dignity they deserved and were not recognized in that parampara tradition which was part of our country's heritage, there would be no future for India..."(Jaykar,2003 :12)

6.4.2 Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts (EPCH) established under the EXIM³⁴ policy of government of India in 1986-87 is a non-profit organization. It is an apex organization of trade and industry and is sponsored by Ministry of Textiles, Government of India. For promotion of handicraft in our country it not only projects India's image abroad as a supplier of high quality handicraft goods and service but also ensures various measures as regards the international standards and specifications. The EPCH has created necessary infrastructure as well as marketing information facilities which are availed by both exporters and importers. It has a rare distinction of being considered as a model Council that is self-sustaining where all promotional activities are self-financed.

6.4.3 EPCH has a well-defined plan for export of artifacts. Handicraft exports touched Rs 283.29 crores in 1985-86 that was 2.6% of the total exports and it stands at 3.2% of the total exports. In 1995-96 it was 2,2778.96 crores and in 1996-97 it reached 3,298.62 crores which was a significant rise of 18.7% over the previous year. EPCH had the ambitious plan of exporting artifacts worth 10,712 crores by the year 2000-01. In 1953-54 the export of craft was worth 23 crores and in 2003, it was 9276.50 crores which was 20% of the total exports of India. A total of about 36 million people are employed in the handicrafts and handloom sectors.

6.4.4 KC's plan for the resuscitation of crafts was informed by her philosophy of crafts. Speaking at the First World Congress of craftsmen in New York (1964), she emphasized that India's art was functional, not separated from daily life of the common man, and that machine age craftsmanship was crucially important for the quality of experience arising out of direct creation. Although KC quit the Board, internationally she was recognized as an authority in arts and crafts. She had been a key speaker at the inauguration of the World Crafts Council and was elected its Vice-president and was honored by UNESCO. One of the which flowered under

her was the India International Centre (IIC). At the IIC, KC set up an Environment Group in 1982, with a series of discussions and seminars to consider certain alarming developments in Delhi like uncontrolled urban growth, and environmental degradation.

6.4.5 In 1964, she started the Natya Institute of Kathak and Choreography (NIKC) Bangalore, under the aegis of Bharatiya Natya Sangh(BNS) affiliated to the UNESCO. Its present Director is Maya Rao.³⁵ In recognition of KC's contribution to India's cultural heritage the BNS instituted the '*Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay Award*' for the best play of the year. The CCOK instituted in 1986 a prestigious Award titled "*Smt Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay Vishwakarma Award*"³⁶ given to young and talented promising craftspersons of Karnataka. KC's innovative initiative of organizing a National Music Festival in March 1954 by attempting a fusion between classical music and folk provided an exposure to classical music to emerge from its isolation to meet folk music. It was an experimental fusion of the Carnatic percussion ensemble of Mridangam, Kanjira, and Ghatam, with the North Indian Sarangi and Tabla.

6.4.6 She set up the All India Design Centre to revive and preserve traditional designs and also develop and create new patterns to suit modern preferences. She was chosen for its National Design Award by the National Institute of Design. In 1967 Annual AIWC Session, in Bombay, she spoke on 'The Art of Living.' Her biographer Santosh Mahendrajit Singh quotes KC, "Beauty was not the prerogative of rich alone or beyond the reach of the ordinary men, but in an increasingly mechanized society, it lay unnoticed and disregarded in the humble cottages of rural India" which aptly sums up KC's perception of beauty.(Nayar,2005 :335)

6.4.7 In 1967, KC went to Peru to attend the 3rd World Crafts Council annual meeting. On August 27th, 1968, KC delivered a speech in Huvapani in Peru. She spoke elaborately about India's concept of beauty, as "Art is not

meant just to be showcased.” During her speech she elucidated the Indian philosophy of beauty as: “ Beauty pervades our whole life. (Shintri,1981 :101-102)

6.4.8 KC visited Sri Lanka after independence when Bhandaranaike who sought India’s help develop handicrafts. She wanted KC to study the craft situation in Sri Lanka and give suitable suggestions. It was a cultural mission on behalf of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) and the WCC.

6.4.9 During her visit to Japan she learnt that in Japan Japanese still followed the ancient Guru-Shishya³⁷ relationship. KC observed in Japan that small industries like Handicrafts were not competitive with heavy industries but are complementary with each other. KC met Mrs. Tomako Kora³⁸ and Ogata kenzen who pioneered the handicrafts movement through his efforts to conserve and promote them. He introduced KC to the complexities of manufacture of Japanese crafts. In the Japanese National plan, handicrafts held a distinct place and competition was avoided between them and the big industries. Shafi Hamada³⁹ conducted regular pottery classes all over the states. KC attended one of the pottery classes conducted by him. Japanese approach to crafts was a way of life and the Japanese artists were highly honored. The meritorious artists were given the title of ‘National Treasure’. Japanese puppets were large and openly manipulated by the manipulator, not behind the curtain. They perform in a special puppet theatre as is still done in some temple complexes in India where the tradition persists.

6.4.10 KC was honored with UNESCO Award in 1977 for her contribution to the promotion of handicrafts. G.Venu, the resurrector of Kerala’s tribal dramatic form Kakkarissi Natakam has dedicated his book *“Puppetry and Lesser Known Dance Traditions of Kerala”* to KC, which was published in 1990. KC awarded “Ramon Magsaysay” award for Community Leadership in 1966 and Vishwabharati’s “Deshikottama” in 1970 for remarkable

service in national freedom struggle and revival of India's culture. In 1977 KC was the working president of the National Music and Theatre Academy. KC was appointed the chairperson of Sangeet Natak Akademi(SNA).⁴⁰ Indian National Theatre set up in 1945 in Bombay under KC's inspiration and guidance. When 1946 UNESCO set up the International Theatre Institute in Paris, KC established the Indian Unit called Bharatiya Natya Sangha. In November 1948, a UNESCO conference was held at Beirut, Lebanon where KC represented the Indian delegation. She observed similarities between India and Ethiopia in appearance, dress, music and arts. In 1956 KC went to Morocco, Malta, South Spain, Ghana and Nizeria. She learnt about the different arts of these countries.

6.4.11 KC visited Taxila, a cradle of Gandhara, Greco - Buddhist art, renowned university of medicine and surgery. In 1970, KC visited Ireland as a cultural ambassador. KC helped in the revival of handicrafts in Egypt. KC visited Dartington Hall, famous Arts and crafts centre in Devon shire in England. It was known for progressive education, Arts, crafts, 14th century houses. Renowned Dancer Uday Shankar had told Elmhirsts about KC. Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst spent four years with Tagore in rural development in evolving Sriniketan. KC toured West Africa to study the crafts. In 1964, World Crafts council was registered at Geneva but had its headquarters in New York and the organizers sought KC's help to bring in Asian countries to participate in WCC. She toured Japan and countries of South East Asia and convinced the people of the importance of joining the world body (WCC). In 1964 Shah of Iran's sister, Princess Ashraf, invited KC. In 1967 President of Senegal, for the Negro Arts Festival held in Dakar, invited KC. In 1974 KC was invited by Shah of Iran's Ministry of Economic Affairs to study the progress and hold discussions on the marketing of rural crafts. KC visited Afghanistan to study the crafts and was greatly struck by the potential of their pottery.

6.4.12 KC was criticized of not being able to place competent personnel to head the organizations besides a few other criticisms. Her biographer Reena Nanda records them. In her view KC could not foresee the fleecing of craftsmen by the middlemen who hijacked control of supplies to state government emporia. Another fallout was the blurring of regional individuality and specificity of designs and techniques. KC was biased in favour of a socio economic approach and has often been accused of ignoring aesthetic sophistication. She was unsuccessful with her personal projects. Upwardly mobile women, eager to open boutiques, hijacked the crafts council. She was not able to select people with organizational skills who had no personal agendas.

6.4.13 KC's visit exposed her to weavers and artisans in Sriniketan a village next to Shantiniketan, the centre for the revival and development of handicrafts. Tagore believed that for the growing youth an atmosphere of freedom and love, surcharged with aesthetic symbols like drama, dance, music were essential ingredients. "This was indeed a common experience with me, yet I had never consciously analyzed it." KC witnessed the visionary Tagore and his mission being realized. Agriculture, dairy, crafts to cover the daily needs of men like weaving, pottery, forestry, wood, metal and leather work.

6.4.14 Jasleen Dhamija writes :

"the craft journey of 50 years (1952-2003) has been enriching not only for India but for the craft community who are involved in the craft movement. The countries like Mexico, North Africa, many African Countries, Pakistan, Philippines, Iran, Syria etc have learnt from the Indian experience. India's far reaching programmes provided an example to many newly liberated countries and ministers, heads of government departments, trainees adopted the precedent offered by India."

6.4.15 Jasleen Dhamija informs: "In the Indian context out of every 200 Indians is an artisan. Handicraft is not an outmoded tradition but a production process and a wonderful indigenous technology... Training in craft skills should be treated on par with industrial and another technical training and vocational education. ...Craft should teach both as a vocational, creative activity and as a theoretical social science. India spends 3.8% of its GNP on education, 46% of its population over the age of 15, is illiterate. Crafts people form the second largest employment sector in India, second only to agriculture, and one of the largest contributors to the economy in export revenues as well as domestic sales. ..We need to create an understanding of the diversity and complexity of the craft sector."(Dhamija,2006)

6.4.16 We need to be sensitive to their different nuances and cultural consciousness. Economic considerations may be the driving force, but we need to recognize that social, cultural and familial concerns also shape the direction of the decision making process. We need to take the craftspeople with us. We need to learn to listen as well as to speak. There must be a shift from patronage to partnership. The noted master craftsperson, Ganapathi Sthapati, warned us (apropos of Western Vs Indian traditional culture), "If we don't tell them, they will tell us." We could do well to turn this observation on its head and reflect that if we do not listen to craftspeople, a time may come when they will not be around to listen to us."

6.4.17 KC wrote in Bharat Jyothi dated 23 January 1966 in the article *Reflexions after sixty* "...Gandhiji in his great wisdom had laid down that the constructive workers should not enter politics, an Injunction that was observed more in the breach. I left the highway of politics to step into the side lane of constructive work, field work with artisans, the artists, those who create and produce that mankind may live and grow, not on bread alone, but on things of beauty which uplift and raise us above the petty things of every day life into finer and serener realms so that, at least at periods we may all experience moments of sublimation Sarojini-98.

6.5. In the Realm of Theatre

6.5.1 Her initiatives and responses before India's independence shifted to other human-centric and nation-centric issues after independence like resuscitation of the languishing handicrafts, restoring the dignity besides raising the economic standard of the artisan. She had knowledge of the performing arts, folk forms, fine arts which she enjoyed watching. The one art form she enjoyed performing was theatre. In her Memoirs she writes of her visit to Calcutta as: "Calcutta to my theatre hungry soul was like a Mecca of my dreams is a revealing line which is a strong testimony to the deep rooted interest KC had for theatre. It seems as though her nationalist concerns encroached upon her personal interests, which she would have pursued in other circumstances. But her vision of art and theatre was translated into action, which resulted in the founding of several Institutes and Organizations some of which continue to flourish till date. KC writes in her 'Memoirs': 'I loved to act and seem to possess some talent for it. I was given important parts in the plays, an experience that brought me deep satisfaction..' (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 20) she writes that she also learnt western music, eurhythmic dances, Hindustani music besides playing Sarangi. Her teacher was the pupil of Abdul Karim Khan..She was also interested in watching Yakshagana and Bhatum which fact has been stated by many of her associates. She writes about this interest as: "Mother, our family and I were deeply interested in these indigenous forms.." (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 15) She writes further that Vallathol,⁴¹ the Malayalee poet invited her to Kalamandalam (Chattopadhyay, 1986: 29-31).

6.5.2 KC's involvement with dance forms began when she visited Kerala for her sports visits. These visits exposed her to a world of Performing arts: Kathakali, which corresponded to Bhuta dance and folk forms Kathak, Kuchipudi, and the Sanskrit dance drama of 10th century. In this dance form the professional men actors are called Chakyars and verse recital is being

done by Nanghyars. Krishnattam, another prominent dance form of Kerala which is a Krishna narrative in Sanskrit and Kathakali, the most modern and sophisticated dance drama besides Mohoni Attam, the special feminine dance of Kerala. Her exposure to Kerala's performing arts and Vallathol's Kalamandalam at an early age must have prompted her towards missionary acts of preservation which she took upon herself as a compensatory involvement for not being able to pursue theatre. Her emphasis on the indigenous element is conspicuous in every sphere of her activity. KC writes about theatres of different states in India like the Kannada theatre of Bellary Raghavachar, Mysore Varadachar, the Dattatreya Natak Mandali and renowned Veeranna in the Gubbi theatre. She elaborates upon the scene of theatre in India like the Marathi theatre, Parsi theatre etc.

6.5.3 The first drama KC enacted was 'Mira Bai' in her hometown Mangalore. Mrs. Cousins planned this drama to raise funds for running the Girls' school at Mangalore. The news of KC's participation as a woman created furore in Mangalore. KC and Mrs. Cousins were threatened of dangerous consequences if they went ahead with the play. Nevertheless the drama was performed in Mrs. Cousins's house with Mrs. Cousins playing the male role and KC played the part of Mira Bai.

6.5.4 He was a writer, music composer, director and himself an actor. Her marriage to Harindranath Chattopadhyay (HC) was the outcome of this deep interest or rather it was their shared interest in the theatre that brought KC and HC together which made them husband and wife. KC was impacted by the versatility of HC which was exhibited in every aspect of theatre about which she writes: "we were still a small group of dedicated volunteers moulding into theatre artists. But Harindranath's multifaceted personality made up in variety and quality to provide substance and prestige." They traveled through the country performing in small towns staging shows, innovating and creating and throwing themselves enthusiastically into reviving and revitalizing the indigenous theatre arts. Their first drama together was 'Return from Abroad'

and there after the plays like 'Tukaram' and 'Eknath' etc. They also enacted some English plays. Though KC enjoyed music and experienced a sense of upliftment, acting proved her real medium. It was the medium by which she could not only express herself to her fullest potential but that she was contented with. When poet, musician HC and KC teamed up it was for sharing of dreams and ambitions to devote themselves to create a theatre in India, for much of the contemporary theatre had degenerated. HC wrote simple plays both on current life as well as on stories from the epics and lives of the saints. Since he himself composed the music directed and acted they were able to produce something new and vibrant. The stigma that was attached to men and women playing as stage artists was an index of its degeneration but KC & HC continued undaunted by prejudice and criticism. KC and HC told Tagore about their "grand design for a new theatre", and it was at his suggestion that the couple visited Shantiniketan. As their venture gained popularity they believed that the renaissance of stage art had taken birth.

6.5.5 KC 's interest manifests itself in the words "The Moscow Art Theatre opened a new dimension to me in the theatre arts "- (Chattopadhyay, 1986 : 53) It explains the formulation of her vision during her visit to Berlin which resulted in her missionary initiatives of preservation of art properties. At Berlin, Moscow Art Theatre was playing at that time. KC writes that this provided a rare experience to her in dramatics. She makes a mention of Anton Chekhov's plays 'Cherry Orchard' and 'Three Sisters' as 'enchanting.' KC writes that there was a refinement about theatre properties in the Russian theatre. She also made a study of Russian theatre and realized that: "the creation and preservation of these properties was an art world of its own..." (Chatopadhyay, 1986: 54) Besides, KC designed costumes for the dramas. Also her keen interest in designing costumes, collecting handicrafts must have led to the establishment of the USM Theatre crafts Museum. Her experiments in tie dying endorse her interest in textiles, wools and a wide range materials of which she makes a deep study and documents in her books.

As chairman of AIHB, she identified theatre crafts. For the first time items like costumes, headgear, jewellery, puppets, masks, musical instruments were recognized for their worth and were housed in a Museum. The rich folk ritualistic drama forms prevailing in her district (DK) were showing signs of getting brash and hybrid under attempts to modernize. While KC was having all these documented for the archives, the idea sprouted that the elaborate costumes and fantastically colorful properties needed preservation. There was an immediacy of purpose which made her to initiate the collection of theatre crafts. She collected artifacts and sold her property to set up a trust, and housed her collection initially in her own house. This museum is named after U.Srinivas Mallaiah.⁴² It is recorded that besides the sale proceeds of her Mangalore house, she donated even the Ramon Magsaysay Award money to USM Trust. Keen to preserve and stimulate traditional cultural forms a noted creative artist was appointed with which they began the collection of theatre properties. The ICU also started collection of theatre properties which finally led up to a National Theatre Crafts Museum the only one of its kind in Southeast Asia. (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :318)

Sangeet Natak Akademi (SNA)

6.5.6 In 1963 when Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,⁴³ set up first of the three Akademies one each for literature, painting, music and dance, KC was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akademi (SNA). Later she was its Chairman for 11 years that is from 1977 to 1988. She received the fellowship of the Sangeet Natak Akademi and during the vote of thanks she commented, "I hope the president feels himself privileged to have been in the company of the artists for even such a short time". It was SNA that first introduced urban theatre audiences to forms like Yakshagana and SNA's most valuable contribution is the visual and audio documentation on films and tapes which is an impressive scholarly collection of the old masters and of rare forms of folk theatre and ritual performances. She states in her

Memoirs: "The other activity in which I took interest was documenting of the varied performing arts. The objects waiting to be documented were a never ending panorama of infinite varieties."

6.5.7 She was recognized internationally as an authority on art forms. Her recognition internationally was in a sense elevation attained by India's cultural heritage in the world community. KC envisioned art as a great unifying force transcending geographical and other boundaries; a medium to communicate with Nature; facilitating the blooming of an artiste into a universal being. The Folk art of puppetry interested her. Consequently, KC was made the Vice-President of the "International puppet Theatre." On 5 May 1944 the Indian National Theatre was established by KC at Bombay, and KC as its first President and Dave as the first Vice-President for promotion of a nationalist theatre to focus on folk theatre and regional language plays. In 1946 in Paris, UNESCO International Theatre Institute was established and she started its branch in India. The International Theatre Institute, affiliated to UNESCO, made her its Vice-President to oversee the preservation of theatre forms worldwide.

6.5.8 KC's interest in folk forms prompted her to entrust the responsibility of making a documentary on Bhoota worship to B.V. Karanth⁴⁴ When after more than 7 to 8 years the film did not get completed B.V.K's mother who was from Bantwal feared that Bhootas were angry as they were humiliated by making of the film. Nevertheless, B.V. Karanth completed the movie in the midst of legal wrangles in the Bhopal courts. After being told of its completion, KC watched it and commended it. B.V.K. was initially a student and later on functioned as the Director of (National School of Drama) NSD which was founded by KC. An Asian Theatre Institute was set up with UNESCO's patronage in November 1956. In 1959, the National School of Drama (NSD) came into being encompassing the Asian Theatre Institute and offering a two year Diploma course for general training in dramatics. KC was highly acclaimed by its first Director of Mr. Alkazi. She

states that her abiding interest in the theatre induced her to set up a National School of Drama. She confronted considerable opposition including from theatre artists as it was felt that formal learning/training was unwarranted to improve the talent of acting. KC organized a National Drama Festival and was Chairman of the Festival Committee, in Delhi in November 1954, where for the first time twenty-two plays in all Indian languages were staged.

6.5.9 KC wished that theatre be evolved as a symbol of national consciousness and not just performed in the narrow confines of the enclosures. Probably it was her broad vision, which enabled her to think in these terms, or was it her keen interest in Byalata⁴⁵ that she states her perception of theatre as: "Theatre should cease to be a reserved enclosure and should become an open, creative playground for all, an organic part of our national life and the voice of our national consciousness..."

6.5.10 In 1956 KC toured West Africa to study the crafts. In 1962 - 66 and 1967 KC toured SE Asia, Japan, USSR and Europe to study theatre. In 1974 KC visited Central Asian Republic and Hungary to study theatre Production. KC toured European countries to learn about their theatre and establish "Asian Theatre Society" at Delhi with the help of UNESCO.

Movies

6.5.11 KC acted in films in an era when acting in films was considered disreputable. She acted in two films :Vasantasena and Bikhre Moti. In her first stint she acted in two silent films, including the first silent film of the Kannada film industry, 'Mrichhakatika'(Vasantasena) in 1931, based on Kalidasa's play starring Yenakshi Rama Rao and directed by Mohan Dayaram Bhavanani. In her second stint in films she acted in a Hindi film in 1943, 'Tansen' starring K.L.Saigal and Khursheed followed by 'Shankar Parvathi'(1943) and 'Dhanna Bhagar'(1948).

6.6. Writings

6.6.1 KC has authored books on a wide ranging subjects like women's struggle, Socialism, Indian handicrafts, embroidery, carpets and floor coverings, folk dance, theatre, India's craft tradition besides her political writings on the issues of national and international importance. The preface for her autobiography *'Inner Recesses Outer Spaces:Memoirs'*, has been written by a noted Indian writer in English Raja Rao. She uses precise phraseology to drive home her point and employs her rhetoric to the maximum. The minutest aspect is well considered before it is expressed. The evolution of her writing skill seems to be an outcome voracious reading. She informs of reading the autobiographies of Pandita Ramabai , Ramabai Ranade besides the literature consciously made available to her by her mother. KC's mother encouraged her to write letters to her sister. It was her initiation into the domain of writing. She writes: "Today however great the depression or tension, writing melts it away. I have never known boredom". (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :19) Dr.N.S.Hardikar of the Hindustani Seva Dal asked KC to write the report of the Belgaum Congress Session for the Seva Dal Journal and asked her to continue writing for the journal. This developed KC's writing skill. She uses a simple and forceful language and her forthright language is incisive and stark. The following incident after independence is indicative of KC's forthrightness, which is worth mentioning here. Nehru remarked about the socialists on the issue of 'Dominion status' for India at Luckhnow. He had opposed a resolution of Madan Mohan Malavia on this issue. But in 1949 he changed his stand on the question of keeping India within the Commonwealth despite several socialists disagreed with it .He commented, "the socialists are a bunch of reactionaries."... KC immediately drafted an appropriate reply and sent that booklet with a picture of grapes to Prime minister's special Assistant, M.O.Mathai, to be shown to Nehru. (Chattopadhyay,1986 :382-383). The forthrightness in writing had cost her the CWC membership in 1936 when she retorted to Patel by writing an

article when he called the youth 'irresponsible.' At times her language is symbolic wherein she communicates more in less number of words which is indicated in the following passage:

“When liberation came to India, it came in a way to me, too personally. For I felt released from my political obligations and my pledge ...politics had become a very different thing from what it had been when I went into the fray. It was now power with a very big capital ‘P’, a career, with scramble and pushing around ...” (Brijbhushan,1976 :124).

Sometimes her language tends to have a poetic and flowing quality about it which manifests itself in the following passage quoted from her article ‘*Reflections after Sixty*’. She writes:

“My journey over these decades has been a long but memorable one, and looking back it looks like the sky at twilight...hopes and disappointments, but, above all, an unflagging stamina to keep on the track, to ever march to richer and newer experiences ”(Brijbhuahan, 1976: 172).

In the following lines her tacit phraseology can be observed. She declared in an exclusive interview published in *Celebrity* magazine in 1984 when she was going on eighty- two.” It never has been my medium of expression. I mean, I am aware of politics, I can analyse, I can argue because, after all for fifty years I have been in politics ... Suppose you are cut out to be a singer, and asked to work in a telephone factory?” (Narasimhan,2006 :178)

6.6.2 Her book ‘*Indian Women’s Battle for Freedom*’ published in 1983 in 130 pages delineates women’s issues and traces women’s movement in India. She writes that the role of women in Social Reform Movement has not occupied the required space it deserves in the books written on this subject. Women became complacent after independence. To keep make it an objective study KC avoids remarks of personal nature. It is commendable that women

did not desire favors but emphasized for equal rights with men. It is alleged that there was no purposeful women's movement in India. KC answers her critics that India had a positive and broad based movement but without any high drama. The book '*The Awakening of Indian Women*' published in 1939 in 47 pages as the title suggests raises several women related questions with sections 'Women's Movement in India' and 'Imperialism and Class Struggle' besides a collection of articles. In this book she discusses women's issues like girl's education, child marriage, purdah, prostitution, workers and wages, labour and motherhood. The book '*Indian Handicrafts*' published in 1963 by ICCR, New Delhi in 75 pages is a highly researched document with an equal number of illustrations. It acquaints one with India's diverse handicrafts tracing their origin, evolution, utility and their aesthetic value etc. They range from pottery to Jewellery, textiles, embroidery, woodwork, etc. The Bibliography is highly comprehensive running to 10 pages stating even the price of the book in some cases. The book '*Carpets and Floor Coverings of India*' published in 1969 in 63 pages has more than 80 illustrations. It is an exploration of the Oriental carpet. This book speaks of its worth in terms of extensive and intensive research. Her book '*Handicrafts of India*' published in 1975 and revised in 1985 in 175 pages is highly comprehensive. It covers a wide range of subjects like handicrafts, Glass, Ivory, Horn, musical instruments, puppetry, theatre crafts besides the traditional artifacts of wood, metal, bamboo, leather, stone etc. There are illustrations running to 80 pages. It probes into the origin, the processes, the raw material availability and several other aspects of these handicrafts. Her autobiography *Inner Recesses, Outer spaces: Memoirs* published in 1986 runs to 410 and is divided into 13 Chapters. It documents her national and international endeavors in the real sense of the term. This narrative is a sincere record of the influences of the people, the physical surroundings, the festivities, the rituals and every aspect of life except her matrimonial details like her marriage in her childhood, (though she discusses her pre-marriage memories of her father, mother and grand mother) the death

of her first husband, her remarriage with Harindranath Chattopadhyay, her divorce etc. Her evolution as a Gandhian deserves attention because she was in disagreement with him on certain vital issues. The title elicits interest and reflects the trials undergone and the struggles experienced. In the book "*Indian Embroidery*", KC traces its history way back to about 3000 years. KC was not a passionate conjoiner but an art expert who evaluated art from various multiple angles like creativity, social context, history and economic system. She authored the research article 'The Tribal Art' after an in-depth study of the arts of the forest tribal communities. She also wrote *Tribalism in India* (1978) dedicated to her friend Verrier Elwin, with whose aid she had begun, the Handicraft Board's programme for the rejuvenation of the crafts of northeastern frontier agency, after the war with China in 1962. When KC was in Vellore jail she did an analytical study of what happens to individuals when they are shut up for long periods of time, how the tempo of their inner working changes and how this affects group relationship and wrote a detailed account of it. She also did a study of herself, thinking that such a study might help her understand herself. (Brijbhushan, 1976: 76)

6.6.3 Khadri Shamanna⁴⁶, writes in his editorial column of 2 November 1988 that KC aimed to establish a body of Journalism which was named as "Karnataka News Paper and publications." She also ventured into journalism with 'Jagruti' a weekly in Kannada, which was a spokes magazine of the Socialist Party. KC was pre occupied with party work and to get a Kannada weekly called 'Jagrati' going as a party organ for purposeful socialist education (Chattopadhyay, 1986 :213). KC called Khadri Shamanna to The Bombay Chronicle office at Bombay when he was involved in the political activities in North Karnataka. He writes that he entered socialist movement through "Jagruti". Jagruti was ceremoniously launched and was published from Bombay for six months. R.K. Laxman⁴⁷ contributed cartoons to Jagruti on a free basis. C.K.Narayana Swamy⁴⁸ took up the job of Jagruti in addition to TBC. KC's goodwill had brought advertisements and there

was no dearth of printing paper. KC had purchased a huge printing machine, which of course could not be used. Jagruti was transferred to Dharwar in June 1947 KC visited Dharwar to discuss and supervise the organizational activities of the socialist party. She also wrote for *Blitz*, *Free Press Journal*, and *Indian Express* etc;

6.6.4 KC reacted strongly and projected India's perspective to various world problems through her writings. Her articles in 'The Bombay chronicle' exhibited her acute observation and strongly critical faculty that went to make up her journalistic writings. These articles are the travelogues wherein she discusses the grave issues faced by the countries. When Europe was in the grip of war, the US consulate refused her a visa. But she was determined which paved the way for a transit visa to travel across America. '*A saga of the uprooted. Efforts of the Indian co-operative Union to rehabilitate the refugees from Pakistan*' is an article which narrates the pathetic state of refugees attempting to come terms with the emergent situation. This first hand account is a realistic portrait where she looks at herself as an insider rather than an outsider. I have appended a list of books and the articles with very brief details available to me.

6.6.5 KC was exposed to innovative experiments in education, agriculture, social systems and concepts of governance. She was moving closer to Gandhi, his constructive programmes, his Nai Talim which had captured interest during the Wardha Conference in 1937(Nanda, 2002 : 97) *At the crossroads* (1947), a collection of essays reveals her ideas about cooperative communities, the socialist ideology as a practical system of government, the welfare state, a new education system utilizing physical practical skills sympathetic to Indian realities and culture, civic planning and environment, and family planning which would free women from bondage.

KC sums up her philosophy of Indian art to O.C.Ganguly the renowned painter where she proves herself to be a universalist: "Only Indian art draws

its inspiration from a single core, the universe as a totality...There is no basic difference in the various divergent manifestations of life such as human, animal, vegetable worlds, because a single lifeline is running through them all.”(Chattopadhyay, 1986: xii)

Notes

1. An ancient treatise on arts and crafts.
2. These are the Kannada and Sanskrit equivalents of the artisans who use different raw materials for making their artifacts
3. Jasleen Dhamija is an internationally known philosopher of living cultural traditions and is an important contributor to the holistic approach to socio-cultural and economic development.
4. Vishwakarma is supposed to be the deity of crafts and architecture who blesses with creativity and skill.
5. 'Bankura Horse' is the logo of CCIE which is also called as 'Cottage.' Panchmura is a place in the Bankura district of west Bengal.
6. Here KC gives the multidimensional meaning of 'beauty' as being a spiritual experience, which is beyond materialistic notions/aspects.
7. The Indian artisan may be sensitised that he is in fact contributing not only to the cultural pool but also is a participant in the global mission of saving this earth from further degradation.
8. This is KC 's one more perspective of the craftsmanship.
9. A special kind of very soft wool procured and used by the weavers in the state of Kashmir.
10. The books authored by her are an outcome of deep research undertaken by her. This exploration I consider as a search into the world of handicrafts. As a testimony to the depth of her study, I attempt to take up a few crafts in which she was keenly interested which she elucidates in her books. Nevertheless it is not a qualitative or quantitative evaluation, which can be attempted only by an expert.
11. He is the chief research officer, M.G.M. College , Udupi.

12. He is the General Secretary of Karnatka Chitrakala Parishat, Bangalore.
13. It is a skill practiced in Bidar, a town in Karnataka from where it takes its name.
14. It literally means the man who holds the strings, that is the key man.
15. For the sake of convenience I have recorded the crafts of Karnataka separately as KC hailed from this state.
16. Kinnal is a village about 10 kms. From Koppal in Karnataka.
17. Ganjifa is a special type of art practiced in the coastal districts of Karnataka.
18. These terms denote 'bringing back to life' something which is on the verge of collapse. It is significant in the context of KC because revival/ resuscitation are more difficult tasks than creating something new.
19. KC initiated measures where in she advocated the use of machines to save the artisans from toiling rather than use machines for creating artifacts.
20. All these measures of KC were innovative which are a part of 'Management Studies' which are vital for any business venture.
21. Gurukula is an ancient education system where children were sent by the parents to stay with a guru and gain knowledge and skills under the tutelage of guru.
22. This is her rejuvenatory venture which she took up in her home district.
23. An English missionary who came for missionary activities but was immersed in tribal people's upliftment in the North Eastern India.
24. He is the retired officer-in-charge, Central Handicrafts Development Centre, Bangalore.
25. A chitragaar literally means a portrait maker.
26. It is interesting that KC named him as a 'Colourman.'
27. She is presently the Chairperson of CCOK and a close associate of KC.
28. KC differed from Pupul Jaykar on this count and she delineates it in *Marg* Vol 17 see Nanda p-142
29. Both were well-known economists.
30. A veteran in arts arena who was an associate of KC and headed several organizations of culture in India including 'The Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, New Delhi.

31. He was one of the closest associates of KC in the field of Handicrafts. KC regarded him as his guru. He was also associated with The Theosophical Society.
32. It literally means the 'forgotten artists.'
33. The father of the renowned Shilp Guru Ganapathi Stapathi
34. It is the export import policy of the Government.
35. She is a renowned danseuse and was a close associate of KC.
36. This award is given by CCOK to young and promising craftspersons of Karnataka below 30 years of age for their excellence in the craft.
37. It is an ancient Indian system of imparting knowledge and skills wherein students stay with their teacher till they complete their education.
38. She was a Japanese leader .
39. He was a noted potter who trained KC in art of pottery.
40. KC also held the following positions:
 1. Chairperson, National Centre for Cultural Resources and Training
 2. Member, UNO's Human Rights Commission
 3. Member, National Committee for Perspective Planning for education
 4. Member, National Advisory Board for Industries.
 5. Member, National Book Trust.
 6. She was also Vice-president of the International Puppetry Organization, Union Internationale de la Marionnette (UNIMA)
 7. She was one of the chief architects of world Crafts Council and its Vice-President.
41. A noted malayali poet who revived Kathakali, a dance form of Kerala, by founding the center 'kalamandalam'
42. This Museum at Delhi is named after KC's compatriot U.Srinivas Mallaiah who helped her to acquire land for the museum to be housed. It also serves as a live training center and workshop to craftsmen coming from all over India to work, train and demonstrate.
43. The first Education Minister of independent India.

44. Babukodi Venkataramana Karanth was a renowned theatre artist and film maker from Karnataka.
45. It is a dance drama from Karnataka played in an open field.
46. He was the editor of the *Kannada Prabha*, a Kannada newspaper and a socialist, imprisoned during freedom struggle.
47. He was a noted cartoonist who worked for '*Free Press Journal*'.
48. He was associated with '*The Bombay Chronicle*' and did the additional work of 'Jagrati'.

Chapter 7

In lieu of a Conclusion

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To attempt an objective study of a renowned personality as regards his / her spheres of activity is the result of an urge to unearth the mission concepts which evolve in that person's life over a period of time. As I have mentioned already this study is not intended to be a biographical sketch or a character study, rather it intends to focus on the extent of fulfillment of her missions and realization of her vision.

From the early 20th Century when she was born, to the close of it when she died, it was a period, which witnessed social, political and economic turbulence nationally and also internationally.

In this chapter, let me summarize the various facets of KC's endeavors as she pushed through the challenges and the hostilities during these endeavors. As the title of my dissertation suggests she confronted grave issues like gender inequity, the challenges that confronted India and the concerns of India's cultural heritage besides other less graver issues. The words Caste-Class in the title denote the artist/artisans used in a generic sense. The phrase denotes artists/artisans viewed as a 'group' or a 'class'.

The study of the formation of her mission initiatives with reference to Mangalore, the place of her birth and the Headquarter of D.K. District shows that the physical, social, political and her home environs played a significant role in deciding the path she was to tread in life. D.K. her home district, which formed a part of Madras presidency, sensitized her and evolved her as perceptive and consistent explorer, a women's emancipator, a nation builder and an art and craft rejuvenator. The locational aspect of Mangalore

makes it strategically important as it situates itself on the West coast of Karnataka facilitating intermingling of societal and cultural elements as it has Maharashtra with Mumbai (previously Bombay) on the one hand and Tamilnadu and Kerala with Chennai (previously Madras) and Thiruvananthapuram on the other. The fact that this district passed through the rule of various dynasties beginning from Alupas in the 14th Century to the British rule in 1799 explains its politically proactive character. Even before Gandhiji started his Civil Disobedience Movement in India, the D.K. district underwent reformational processes taken up by social reformers like Kudmul Ranga Rao, Ullal Raghunathaiah, Nyampalli Rama Rao, and others. A testimony to D.K. district being proactive is the fact that it experienced a No-Tax campaign on the lines of Bardoli Satyagraha. Further, K.C. was impacted by a wide range of folk forms of this district like Yakshagana, Byalata and Bhootaradhane.. Presently Mangalore has a metropolitan character with both traditional industries like roof tiles, beedi, Cashew nut processing and technologically advanced industries like Mangalore Chemicals and Fertilizers Limited, Kudremukh Iron Ore Company Limited, Mangalore Refining and Petro Chemicals Limited, IT industries to name a few. It is also known for its institutes of higher learning and banking industry.

K.C. was a Saraswat Brahmin. The Saraswats were settlers, who migrated from the northern plains of India to Goa and then to coastal Karnataka, have been known for their progressive character. They were exposed to influences of the various neo-religious reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, The Theosophical society and the Basel Mission. The German-speaking missionaries of Basel town of Switzerland opened schools and set up tiles and textiles factories in Mangalore. The Saraswats known for their dynamism derived at most advantage from English education and held prestigious Government jobs. KC's father Anantaiah Dhareshwar a District collector, and mother Girijabai a progressive lady who founded the Mahila Sabha at Mangalore, impacted KC positively. Her

exposure to freedom fighters, feminists, Social activists and artists facilitated the formulation of her mission structure. The family and community environs impacted her besides the socio- political changes, which D.K. District was undergoing. The positive influences which impacted her were her exposure to personalities like Gandhiji, Annie Besant, Mrs Cousins, Pandita Ramabai, Ramabai Ranade, Maharshi Karve, Verrier Elwin , G. Venkatachalam, Agnes Smedley , Virendranath Chattopadhyay , Dr. Hardikar, Umabai Kundapur and so on. These influences shaped her mission frame towards social service, women's issues and cultural revival. The negative influences were the events like the death of her father, her marriage in childhood due to financial insecurity, the death of her two elder sisters owing to cruelty of their husbands, her as well as her maternal aunt's widowhood and her divorce which impacted her negatively making her conviction stronger to fight against social injustices and gender inequities. These again were contributory factors in formulating her mission structure. She was sensitized to woman's issues like child marriage, widow remarriage, woman's property rights because she underwent and negotiated these challenging issues herself.

The realization of her mission initiatives was possible through her positions as General Secretary, vice-President and president of AIWC. KC's initiatives witnessed the passing of Child Marriage Restraint Bill and Age of Consent Bill.. Her initiatives towards grant of maternity leave of 6 weeks to women laborers are as significant as her endeavors in the area of family planning. Her liberationist non-confrontantist feminist perspective was the guiding policy in all her feminist responses. Her initiatives in the domain of female education, mother and child's health show that she was negotiating the woman questions in the mid 20th century, which remain relevant till, date. Her enterprises in setting up crèches to working mothers and hostels for working woman show that she was looking far ahead of her times. Her disapproval of gender- based reservations was owing to her ProIndia approach;

she viewed the reservation policy as an attempt to equalize people and considered it as a compromise with the standards causing grievous injury to the nation. Another repercussion of the reservation policy according to her was that by claiming reservations each individual was forced to think of himself / herself in terms of his / her caste rather than as a citizen. She also confronted the challenge of freedom to India. She pledged to serve till India became free when she became a volunteer in the Hindustan Seva Dal. Her imbibition of Gandhian Philosophy was the profoundest positive influence, which formulated her mission structure for the whole of her life. Her nationalist and human-centric missionary endeavors besides her endeavors to preserve the indigenous forms commenced from her plunge into the freedom movement and continued till her death. Her deep involvement in the Salt Satyagraha at Chowpatty, Mumbai (previously Bombay) resulting in her imprisonment and her dynamic activities to awaken the youth and mill labourers to participate in the Quit India Movement in Bangaluru (previously Bangalore) were prompted by her nationalist concerns. Her ability to enthuse the youth took her to the princely state of Travancore and Srilanka. In her political endeavors her philosophy of Socialism made her to divert to socialist thinking. Unlike the communist thinking she believed in Gandhism and practiced it. Socialism meant a human-centric approach to her and is predominantly found in all her missionary endeavors. The core of all her mission concepts was the human being. This came to the fore again during her endeavours in the sphere of refugee rehabilitation and elevation of the India craftsmen economically and restoration of their lost dignity. Her experiments in the Co-operative Movement did not reach a logical end in Chattarpur and Faridabad Township owing to the bureaucratic resistance, which even the Prime Minister Nehru found difficult to penetrate. Her initiatives in the area of consumer protection failed to materialize. She aimed to set up Indian Institute of Consumer Studies at Bangalore. During the

tenure of the Chief Minister Ramakrishna Hedge in Karnataka, 10 acres land was earmarked for the institute. As the managing trustee of the Institute KC. pursued the matter but before the order could be passed she passed away.

Behind every cultural initiative was her keen interest which fashioned itself into a mission of huge magnitude. Her journeys in India to the remotest village to seek a handicraft or an artisan, her tours to England, Japan, Hungary, South Africa, the Scandinavian countries others speak of her deep interest in the sphere of handicrafts. She being a founder and co-founder in setting up of several institutions and organizations both national and international level testifies not only to her interest and involvement but the privileged position she was offered by the countries other than India. She accessed, resuscitated, revived and promoted handicrafts with a missionary zeal. Also she made a deep study of these, which is testified in the books authored by her.

KC's keen interest had brought her and HC together. With HC she envisioned a theatre movement, which did not materialize. But in this field her mission concepts realized in the shape of founding of U.Srinivas Mallaiah Theatre Crafts Museum and National School of Drama.

KC.'s writings include books on women's issues, handicrafts, Carpets and Floor Coverings, embroidery, Tribalism, War-torn China and so on. Her Memoirs "*Inner Recesses Outer Spaces*" is a chronicle of her missionary endeavors and the realization of her mission initiatives. Her travelogue and non-travelogue articles published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Indian Express* and *Blitz* also document her experiences. Her books and articles on various subject are a testimony to the deep research which must have been conducted to chronicle the minutest details being traced right from the stage of their origin in the ancient past.

Now let me take up the arguments taken up for discussion in this study. I have examined whether her missions materialized or whether her vision

concretized as a believer in the Gandhian Philosophy. And whether she was also to resolve the questions which she thought needed urgent responses.

The women's questions encountered were tackled through legislations. Although measures to implement were taken the gender inequity question continues to prevail. Social mobility in the Indian women is on the upward trend but female education is still inaccessible and ill affordable. Ignorance and women's illiteracy has been a major area of concern, which leads to low infant mortality and rise in population. KC's responses to the feminist concerns are relevant, as most of the concerns remain partially unresolved. The UNO's Millennium Development Goals like MDG3 and MDG5 also discuss the questions taken up by KC about eight decades ago. Her perception of viewing woman as a human being with an economic potential needs to be focused upon and deserves more attention. Woman's issues crop up by acquiring new forms like the infanticide and foeticide of the female. KC's policy of gender-based reservations is without doubt pro Indian but seems irrelevant in the contemporary globalized materialistic world with a commercialized approach. The political parties and the labor leaders have politicized the labour union and peasants movements to their advantage. As regards the artisan, although he has survived the rapacity of colonialism he faces the new threat of globalization.

Although KC was conferred with national and international awards and honours, the most meaningful was the 'Charles Eames Award', given to the one who contributes towards improvement of 'quality of life', which correlates with Amartya Sen's definition of development, which defines development as, "the ability of the individuals to make choices and to have the ability to fulfill them." Behind all her human centric initiatives there was an underlying common aim to improve the quality of life of the individuals in a holistic way. Her insistence on conducting surveys and training camps for women testify to her being a strategist. In the backdrop of planning and execution of huge tasks like refugee rehabilitation and handicrafts revival her role is that

of a 'Disaster Manager.' In this context, the words of the eminent economist and the former Member of the National Planning Commission L.C. Jain are note worthy, "I learnt Economics from her with the help of her practical guidance. Kamaladevi was more than a guru to me." (Jain, 2003 :5) Her managerial and organizing skills came into full play while handling the tasks of huge magnitude. She states: " planning does not mean compilation and tabulation of figures, it is a social act calling for the participation of the widest range groups and individuals (Narasimhan, 2006 :221).It was an evolution of KC from a nationalist feminist liberationist to a workaholic Disaster Manager further to an aesthete not only with a vision but also with concern.

She deliberately distanced herself from the power structures for more than one reason. It testifies to her being a Gandhian to the core. Gandhi envisaged that constructive workers should not join politics but devote themselves to help the masses improve their lives under the 'Sarvodaya' pattern. Another reason for her to remain away from politics was the unfinished post-independence 'Second Revolution' that envisioned and she looked forward to. The 'Second Revolution' in her viewpoint was the social awareness and empowerment of the masses. which remained unrealised. She writes in her 'Memoirs' that as promised, Nehru did not disband the 'bureaucratic machinery' and replace it with a new frame more conducive to the Indian conditions. Jairam Adiga pinpoints this fact in his article dated 27 November 1988. She viewed Nehruvian highly centralized and bureaucratized development model as unsuitable to Indian conditions. More study can be done in relation to her writings not only with a literary point of view but to probe into the various historical perspectives of her times, her alleged obstinacy and the allegation that she did not place experts in important places to head the institutions founded by her. Besides, another point of interest is her alleged non-compatibility with some local leaders in Karnataka, which needs to be looked into.

I consider KC as possessing high inspirational value which L.C. Jain aptly states as: "She must be an inspiration, not for the successes that she was able to grasp but for the of pursuit the unaccomplished tasks of India's Second Revolution, to which she dedicated herself with all her heart and soul." (Jain, 2003 :109)

The C.D Deshmukh Memorial Lecture delivered by her in January in 1987 at India International Centre, New Delhi, raised several crucial questions some of which are worth mentioning. She disapproved 'aping of the West' and considered large industries as symbols of colonialism. She states,

"unfortunately, because of our colonial stage, we have developed certain psychological attitudes. One is to equate the concept of modernity with the west...colonialism still prevails, but through another medium -technology which rules today through large industries especially multi-national companies. (Narasimhan, 2006 :227)

Her humanist approach is testified by her initiatives in two cases, which may seem insignificant but deserve mention. KC on reading a report in '*Tribune*' petitioned president Zia-Ul-Haq seeking his intervention in releasing two boys Anup and Bhupinder who had strayed into Pak territory accidentally. Another initiative was the filing of a petition in the Supreme Court of India to release women and children captured during the 'Operation Blue Star' at Amristar.

Now let me examine the status of the projects undertaken by her. The cooperative experiments in Chattarpur and Faridabad envisaged by her as projects of 'peoples' ownership' and 'democratic justice' remain unrealized.

As regards, womens empowerment, KC admits that the 'women's movement' had transformed itself into a fashionable pastime for affluent ladies for personal promotion. (Narasimhan, 2006 :212) The Srinivas Malliah The

theatre crafts Museum and 'Naika' Crafts Workshop at Delhi languished for the sake of expert attention.

If one makes a critical analysis of KC's contributions, one finds that more study is required to comprehend the nuances of her endeavors. Nevertheless KC was subjected to criticism which her biographer Reena Nanda records as a) Her colleague Ramachandra Rao accused her of obstinacy. b) In 1978, she admitted that bureaucrats had no aesthetic taste and the emporia displayed poor quality products. Moreover the politicians used the cooperatives for their personal gains. c) Copying of designs was another drawback, which caused the blurring of regional individuality and specificity of designs and techniques. d) Prof Sankho Chaudhari of SNA was critical of Mahabalipuram_Stone Carving Centre, which copied ancient sculptures, and Gaya centre, which had been reproducing some, bronze Natarajas in stone. He alleged that the research, planning and survey teams of AIHB were manned by economists and marketing experts who had no aesthetic representation. e) Sociologist called Emma Tarlo called 'Hauz Khas' village as...the decontextualisation of Indian culture by its transposition to foreign counties as exotica..." public criticism compelled the Government to appoint the Haskar committee which condemned the commercialization of 'Packaged Culture.' f) The SNA was targeted by both the classical and the folk artists. At a seminar held on cultural policy at Institute of Advanced Studies at Shimla in 1974, artists Mohan Upreti and Habib Tanvir pleaded strong support for cultural institutions to educate the urban elite about the vitality of the living folk traditions. KC was apprehensive because she sensed that trends were being dictated by the market forces, represented by export trade and the new boutiques, with an eye to making profits by exploiting the craftsmen (Nanda, 2002 :145-146)

She disapproved formation of states on linguistic lines as she considered that it would lead to each individual to think himself as belonging to a particular linguistic group rather than as an Indian citizen.

She also disapproved the number of amendments to the Indian constitution. She states: "the constitution of India kept getting mutilated from time to time as though it were an elastic garment." At IIC, KC set up an Environment Group in 1982 with a series of discussions and seminars to consider certain alarming developments in Delhi like indiscriminate proliferation of high-rise buildings, faulty flyovers, traffic chaos and environmental degradation. (Nanda, 2002 :153).

Through the Centre for Cultural Resources and Training, she aimed at providing government teachers a means to interact with the artists, dancers and musicians through workshops by which they could inculcate respect for cultural heritage in schools (Nanda, 2002 :154).

In 1985, she organized a meeting of NGOs at IIC to prepare a draft for United Nations Charter for the Child.

KC discusses the hurdles, which impair the Craft sector from getting organized. She writes:

"every craft differs from region to region. Each has its own traditional ways of production and its own design, shape, colour, etc..No one single plan can be applied wholesale all over as in the case of Chakkis, cart wheels, charkhas or carpentry and smithy tools....Not only each craft, but each center needs careful study and understanding before any measures for its treatment can be applied"(Chattopadhyay, 1963 :73)

The infirmities and flaws of KC have been discussed to make a fair evaluation of her contributions. Despite the flaws it is more than obvious that KC's contributions far outweigh her infirmities. It is expected that she would be discussed more and a more written about person and be given a deserving and proper status.

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- Sundaram Kalyam 2003 *Some Thoughts on the Mother of Handicrafts,in Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay A True Karmayogi* Bangalore, Crafts Council of Karnataka.
- Taleyarkhan.Homi.J.H.2003 *In Fond Memory- Kamaladeviji in A True Karmayogi* Bangalore, Crafts Council Karnataka.
- Tontadarya Sampige 2000 *Janapada Rangasamagri Mathu Nataka-Kamala Deviya Vicharagalu Mattu Indina Savalugalu in Kannada* Vishwavidyalaya Vishwa Kosha 2 Karakushala Kalegalu (Kannada *Folk-Theatre Crafts and Theatre.: Kamaladevi's Thoughts and Today's Challenges*) Kannada University Encyclopedia of Handicrafts-2 A Subject encyclopedia of Handicraft Hampi, Kannada University.

Appendiex

- 1. Chronology**
- 2. Books and articles authored by Kamaladevi**
- 3. Photo album**

1. CHRONOLOGY

1903 Born in Mangalore, Dakshina Kannada District on 3rd April

1910. Death of her father Anantaiah Dhareshwar

1917 Marriage to Nyampalli Krishna Rao

1918 Widowed

1919 Attended Satyagraha Sabha addressed by Gandhi and sold copies of his banned book *Hind Swaraj*

1921 Married to Harindranath Chattopadhyay, Sarojini Naidu's brother

———went to London for a course in Sociology

——— Met Virendranath Chattopadhyay at Berlin and saw the Moscow Art Theatre.

1923 Asked by Srinivasa Sastri to address to a meeting- her first political speech in public.

——— Attended International conferences at Geneva, Prague, Berlin.

1924. Enlisted in Hindustani Seva Dal

———Attended the Congress Session presided by Mahatma Gandhi at Belgaum as a Seva Dal volunteer.

1926 Contested election as an independent candidate to Madras Legislative Council . and lost by 55 votes (First woman to contest any election in India)

1927 Offered service as a volunteer in the a Indian Woman Conference AIWC organized by Mrs. Cousins at Seva Sadan at Poona.

———visited Sharada Sadan, met Maharshi Karve, Pandita Ramabai, Verrier Elwin and Rama Bai Ranade, Servants Of India Society.

———Made the General Secretary of the AIWC

———G. Venkatachalam introduced KC to Mabakavi to Vallathol and on invitation of Vallathol visited Kalamandalam.

———Joined the Indian National Congress Party.

———Madras Congress Session as 'General Officer Commanding' of the Women's Wing of Hindustani Seva Dal introduced a new dress code for women volunteers came to be known as 'Orange Brigade'

1928 Attended Congress Session at Calcutta

———Elected to All India Congress Committee

——— Visited Shantiniketan and met Rabindranath Tagore.

——— Attended All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) presided over by Nehru at Jharia Bihar.

1929 Went abroad to attend the following conferences

——— International Alliance of Women at Berlin ;

——— New Education Movement at Copenhagen

——— International League for Peace and Freedom at Prague.

——— International Session of the League against Imperialism at Frankfurt

———. Also visited Scandinavian countries.

1929 Foreign trip ends on 29 September.

——— KC and Hilla Firdaunji moved a resolution to widen the scope of all India Women's Educational Conference(AIWEC) from only educational issues to all Women's problems . AIWEC became AIWC.

—————Elected President of the Youth Congress and presided over Youth Congress and demanded Poorna Swaraj at Ahmedabad on 14 December

1930 Observed 'Poorna Swaraj Day' after it was accepted at Lahore Congress Session. KC hoisted the flag at Congress House, Bombay on 26 January. She was injured in a melee during flag hoisting at Azad Maidan the same afternoon.

————— Gandhi commenced Salt Satyagraha on 12 March

————— KC and Avantikabai Gokhale came on to streets for Salt Satyagraha on 7 April

————— Took out a huge procession with Seva Dal volunteers led by Yusuf Meherally and Gharpure from Congress House on 8th April

————— Delivered speech to mill hands at Naigaun against capitalists in April.

————— Sold salt at Bombay Share Bazar on 12 April

————— Told the police at Mazagaon to give up their jobs on 1 May.

————— KC went to Dharasana with more trained volunteers. KC and Kasturba offered for arrest on 6 May

————— KC took up a trip with A.R. Bhat of Bombay Youth League on 9 May.

————— KC and JB Kriplani attended a meeting of mill hands at Parel Bombay on 9 May

————— Planned to raid Wadala Salt Works on 16 May

————— Arrested late at night on 16 May

————— A meeting arranged at Esplanade Maidan and the Bombay city paid tribute to KC. The Meeting was addressed by K.F. Nariman on 19 May.

1931 KC released from jail and she attended Karachi Congress Session.

Gandhi moved the 'Fundamental Rights Declaration' on 31 December

———— Seva Dal taken over by Congress in July

———— KC and G. Venkatachalam went to Srilanka for Youth League Meeting in July

———— KC was given the charge by Sardar Patel to arrange a National Level Training Camp. He inaugurated the camp at Borivili, Bombay on December 16.

1932 Seva Dal banned

———— KC helped found Lady Irwin College of Home Science for Women at Delhi

———— Complete hartal and K.C. arrested and released on 6 January

———— KC arranged large demonstration on 16 April to protest against the promulgation of Emergency Power Ordinance.

———— Arrested on (6.4.1932) and sentenced for 18 months under Vagrant Act lodged at the Arthur Road Women's prison, Bombay. K.C. submitted a memorandum to jail authorities for redressal of their grievances which included a ban on wearing underwear

———— KC met Mirabeen when she was shifted to another barrack in the jail. Finally KC was shifted to Hindalga Jail, Belgaum where she met the poor peasant women prisoners of North Canara(06.04.192-0610.1933).

1933 Went to Wardha Ashram on being called by Gandhiji on 9 October.

———— KC banned from entering Mysore in October 6 2009

———— Cashew nut peeling women labourers strike.

———— While returning from Wardha KC arrested with Congress leader Kalashwar Rao at Gudivada and sentenced to 1 year of Solitary confinement at Vellore.

———Attended the Kisan March in Andhra arranged by Kisan Leader N.G. Ranga

———Also participated in the First Labour March in Andhra to strengthen labour Unity.

1934 KC's divorce case at Bombay

———Released from Vellore Jail (October 33 to October 34)

———Congress Socialist Party formed. Inaugural Session at Bombay on 22 and 23 October

1935. Family Planning Programme inaugurated Marget Sanger was invited for the session .

———Karnadu Sadashivarayaru felt that KC ousted him as Chairman Karnataka Provincial Socialist Conference to be held in Mangalore in May.

———A CID report confirmed the allegations of misappropriation of funds and nepotism in June.

———A CID report that KC delivered speeches on Socialism and created awareness in August.

———KC toured Bellary , Bagalkot, Belgaum, Hubli

———established Mangalore District Committee and Town Committee in December.

1936 KC inaugurated All India Peasants and Workers Conference on Ranga's request and presided by J.C Kumarappa in October.

———KC informed the Congress that flag was not allowed to be hoisted in Mysore in October.

———Nehru did not include any women in the CWC

———Chaired the Annual Session of the Congress Socialist Party (Satyawati, Chairman, Reception Committee) in Meerut on 20 January.

1937 KC and Nehru toured Karnataka in February .

——— Tabled a resolution at Calcutta opposing the prohibitory order in Mysore on 31 October

——— Attended Wardha Conference on 'Nai Talim'

1938 Toured Karnataka organizing Peasant rallies.

——— Invited to inaugurate Travancore Youth Conference in August . KC arrested for entering Travancore and released . Gandhi supported KC by writing in *Harijan* on 10 September

1939-1941 KC's tour abroad for Ram's Higher Studies Egypt, England, France, Denmark, Sweden, USA, Canada, Hawaii, Japan, China, Philippines, Singapore, Srilanka.

1942. Organized AIWC training camp for Women at Abrama Gujarat along with Mridula Sarabhai and Mirabeen in February.

——— KC addressed students' bodies in Bombay and came to Bangalore.

——— KC at Bangalore when Quit India Movement was launched .she was arrested and kept in Bangalore Central Jail then moved to Vellore jail.

1944 Proposed women's subjects in the curriculum in the Lady Irwin college.

——— Set up Indian National Theatre in Bombay

——— Launched Kannada weekly Jagruti.

1946 Delivered speech in Gadag in Socialist Conference in June.

——— Went against Gandhi's wish in the meeting on the issue of partition of India on 15 June

——— Nominated by Nehru to Congress Working Committee.

——— refused to go on Constituent Assembly on 9 December

1947 Presented a Report on 'Status of Women' in the 'Asians Relations Conference 'in March

———Took the blue print of Co-operatives to Gandhi in June

———Visited Kingsway Camp and met Mulk Raj Anand with 400 Jhang refugees on 15 January.

———Indian Co Operative Union registered, KC president of ICU on 15 September . Deeply involved in refugee rehabilitation and co operative movement at Chattarpur and Faridabad.

———Retorted to Nehru's comments of Socialists as a 'bunch of reactionaries'.

1951-52 Organised All India Exhibition Of Handicraft

———Lost election contested from Bombay in First General elections to Jayashree Raiji of AIWC

———Complained to Nehru about FDB being non functional.

———CCIE handed over to ICU

(1952-67) Chairman of the All India Handicrafts Boards.

1953 Maulana set up three Akademies

———KC appointed Vice - Chairman of SNA

———Delivered talk in Aden on Women's Emancipation.

(1953-58) Seminars and Festivals by the artists.

1954 Organized First National Music Festival with Mrs. Bharat Ram and Mrs. Charat Ram on 31st March

———Took up documentation on files and tapes of rare forms of folk theatre and ritual performances.

———A National Drama Festival organized by KC. She was the Chairman of the Festival committee

1955. Conferred with 'Padma Bhushan'.

- Survey taken up by ICU. KC demanded Strategic Position for Handicrafts in the II Five Year Plan.
- Supported the Vegetable Dye Research Project being run by Rukmini Devi Arundale at Kalakshetra.
- KC and Mohana Ayyangar searched out the 85 year old weaver Joshi and AIHBsanctioned Rs. 33,240/-
- Kodampalli art saved by sanctioning a Development Centre.
- AIHB introduced quality control measures and expansion of Zari production
- Delhi's blue pottery saved from extinction.

1957-58. Reconstituted AIHB

- 7 pilot centers started
- 4 design centers opened

1959 National School of Drama encompassing the 'Asian Theatre Institute' started in April

1961 Survey to enumerate handicrafts

1961-62. KC toured Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Andhra , Madras, for samples of rural crafts and unique items.

1962 Formed Association of Voluntary Agencies for Development- AVARD- 'Mother of NGOS'

- Rushed to Northeastern tribal areas for regeneration of crafts.
- AIHB testifies KC'S role in reviving Kalamkaris .
- Awards for crafts men instituted
- Conferred with 'Watmull Foundation Award' for services in the social and economic fields.

1962-63. Aggressive publicity drive taken up.

1964 Elected Vice President when World Crafts Council (WCC) inaugurated at New York. KC was the key speaker.

———Appointed member, Homi Bhabha Committee to review SNA.

——— -Village Melas to bring Urban Indian closer to his heritage

———Invited to Iran by the sister of Shah of Iran.

1966 'Textile Revival Scheme', initiated at Pochmpalli.

———Organized Theatre Crafts Exhibition in October.

———Conferred with 'Ramon Magsaysay Award' for 'Community Leadership'

1967 Invited by the President of Senegal For 'Arts Festival' at Dakar. The only Asian to be invited.

(1952-67). Chairman of the AIHB.

1970 Conferred with 'Deshikottama' of Shantiniketan for her contribution in preserving Indian Cultural Heritage.

1972 Seminar on Cultural Policy at Indian Institute of Advanced Studies at Shimla. Artists Mohan Upreti and Habib Tanvir attended it. Habib Tanvir lauded SNA documentation.

———Awarded '*Tamrapatra*' as freedom fighter by the Government of India.

1974 'Ratna Sadasya' Award of from SNA conferred on her.

1976 IIC Director, C.D. Deshmukh requested KC to help him

1977 Motivated Bhopas, Bhopis to organise themselves for 'Bhule Bisre Kalakar'.

(1977-82). SNA Chairman and gave importance to young artists.

1977 Conferred with 'UNESCO Award' for promotion of handicrafts.

- A group of Delhi Classical dances criticized SNA'S bankruptcy on Cultural policy.
- 1978 KC admitted that administrators had no aesthetic taste
- Sankho Chaudhury's Criticism
- KC criticized 'boutiques' and 'designers' aping the alien winds.
- Special post of Vice-President was created in IIC for KC
- 1978-88. KC spent at IIC, Delhi.
- A Vice-President of 'UNIMA' (Union International de la Marionette)
- Brought together NSD, Burra Katha, Harikatha and Yakshagana.
- 1979-80. Organized Drupad Mela, Bhavai Festival.
- 1980 Visited Masulipatnam and found that the Centre had Rs. 2,00,000/- as reserves.
- SNA organized 'Sur Singar' for younger performing artists.
- National Awards instituted won by Kogga Kamat, Ammur Madhava Chakyar, Saikia Bayan, for Gombe Atta, Koodiyattam and Sattriya dance.
- 1981 SNA organized 'Spic Macay Festival' in Delhi in January.
- KC sent Bharathi Shivaji on Stipend to Kerala to popularize Mohiniattam.
- Arranged 'Bhakti Sangeeth' at Somnath Gujarat bringing together various paramparas.
- SNA organized 'Festival of Contemporary Puppet Theatre' at Delhi.
- Haskar Committee lauded Bhakti Sangeeta Festival on Special themes like 'Lok Utsavs'
- 1982 Set up Environment Group at IIC, Delhi.

1983 Organized workshop on contemporary street theatre at 'Kala Bhavan'

1986 Conferred with 'Padmavibhusan' by Government of India.

———'Hony D. Litt' of the Banaras Hindu University

———'Kala Saraswati' from Andhra Pradesh Kal Vedika

1987 Delivered 'C.D. Deshmukh Memorial Lecture' of 'Reason Fragmented'.

1988 Passed away in Breach candy Hospital in Bombay on 29 October.

2. Books and articles authored by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay

Books

1. *The Awakening of Indian Women*, Everyman's Press 1939
2. *Japan - Its Weakness and Strengths*, Padma Publication 1943
3. *Uncle Sam's Empire*, Padma Publications Ltd 1944
4. *In war-torn China*, Padma Publication 1944
5. *Towards a National Theatre*(All India Women's Conference, Cultural section, Cultural Books) Aundh Pub. Trust 1945.
6. *America: The Land of Superlatives*, Phoenix Publications 1946
7. *At the Cross Roads*, National Information and Publications 1947
8. *Socialism and Society*, Chetana 1950
9. *Tribalism in India*, Brill Academic Pub, 1978
10. *Handicrafts of India*, Indian Council for Cultural Relations & New Age International Pub. Ltd. New Delhi, India 1995
11. *Indian Women's Battle for Freedom*, South Asia Books 1983
12. *Indian Carpets and Floor Coverings*, All India Handicrafts Board 1974
13. *Indian Embroidery*, Wiley Eastern 1977
14. *India's Craft Traditions*, Publications Division, Ministry of I & B Government of India 2000 Indian Handicrafts, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Bombay India 1963
15. *Traditions of Indian Folk Dance*
16. *The Glory of Indian Handicrafts*, New Delhi India: Clarion Books 1985
17. *Inner Recesses, Outer Spaces: Memoirs*, 1986,

Articles

- 09 July 1939: 'A view of Egypt' KC writes that the cities are a curious combination of the Oriental and the Occidental.
- 19 November 1939 'Kronborg the Dream Tower of Copenhagen' she compares war sphere of Italy with the claim prevailing in Denmark.
- 10 December 1939 KC analyses the plight of Sweden during the war.
- 24 December 1939 Here again she analyses the plight of Sweden during the war.
- 28 December 1941 She examines the factors that pushed Japan to the forefront of powerful nations.
- 04 January 1942 Here again she examines the factors that pushed Japan to the forefront of powerful nations.
- 25 January 1942 She wrote hard hittingly about the arrogant attitude of the Japanese in '*Birth of a New Imperialism.*'
- 22 February 1942 She surveys all the Women's organizations in China, in '*Women of China* which was serialized in *The Bombay Chronicle*.
- 10 May 1942 "An Indian in war torn China" serialized in TBC surveys all the Women's Organisation in China.
- 24 May 1942 ———"———
- 14 June 1942 ———"———
- 6 August 1942 'A Kettle of Fish' It paints a graphic picture of the tensions and light hearted ness on an American Ship.
- ? 1949 'The Romance of Road'-It describes her journey to Gurais Vellay along with Giligt Road Kashmir at a height of 12000 feet
- 20 August 1951 Her interview with King Abdullah of Trans Jordan was published in this article in *Bharat Jyothi*.

2 September 1951 Describes her meeting with Abdullah Talel, Governor of the Old City of Jerusalem Published in *Bharath Jyothi*.

23 September 1951 It give an account of her meeting with Ahmed Hussai, President of Egyptian Socialist Party. She also wrote a series of Pamphlets on current burning problems such as food, milk and awakening of Indian Womanhood etc.,

“The Crafts as an Embodiment of the Great Folk Tradition- This formed a Part of the UNESCO Publication Entitled, “The Arts and Man”(Brijbhushan 142) She defines Craft and gives her perception of craftsmanship.

3. Photo album



Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay

3 April 1903 ~ 29 October 1988



Courtesy : Jayaram Adiga in 'Kannada Prabha'

Kamaladevi as a volunteer with other volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal
at the Congress Session held in 1924 at Belgaum.



Courtesy : 'Visualizing Indian Women'

Kamaladevi and others auctioning Salt at Chaupati, Mumbai in 1930



Courtesy Jayaram Adiga in Kannada Prabha

Kamaladevi during a Congress Socialist Party training camp held
at Bellary in May 1936



Courtesy Shakuntala Narasimhan in Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - the Romantic Rebel

Kamaladevi during the first Meeting of Family Planning Association of India



Courtesy : Jamila Brijbhushan in 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - A Biography'

Kamaladevi with the president of Philippines and officers of the Magsaysay Award Trust (the Indian Ambassador is on the right) in 1966



Courtesy : Jayaram Adiga in 'Kannada Prabha'

Kamaladevi won the Sangeet Natak Akademi Award in 1969. She is seen among the other awardees during a felicitation programme arranged for the awardees. Badal Sarkar, Anil Biswas, Mohan Rakesh, Suresh Avasthi, Maya Rao and Yakshagana artist Keremane Shambhu Hegde can also be seen.



Courtesy : Jamila Brijbhushan in 'Kamaladevi Chatopachay' - A Biography

Kamaladevi receiving
the 'Deshikottama'
the Vishvabharati Award
at Shantiniketan



Courtesy : Jayram Adiga in 'Kannada Prabha'

Kamaladevi's visit to artist's hut in search of handicrafts



Courtesy : Shakuntala Narasimhan in 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - A Romantic Rebel'

Kamaladevi with folk artists of Manipal



Courtesy : Jayram Adiga in 'Kannada Prabha'

Kamaladevi being felicitated by Chitrakala Parishat in Bangalore in a function presided over by the senior literary figure V. Sitaramaiah after she received the UNESCO Award in 1977.



Courtesy : Crafts Council of Karnataka in 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - A true Karmayogi'

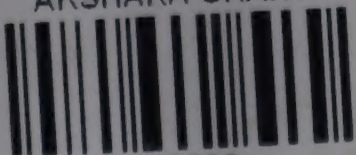
Kamaladevi honouring a Puppeteer at the Puppet Workshop organised in Bangalore in 1982. Smt Vimala Rangachar, Chairperson of the Crafts Council of Karnataka (left) and Shri D. Vadiraj, Vice-chairman (centre) are also seen helping kamaladevi.



Courtesy : Crafts Council of Karnataka in 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay - A true Karmayogi'

The first 'Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay Viswakarma Award' presentation ceremony held in Bangalore in 1986. Kamaladevi was present at the function. Chief Guest Shri Ramakrishna Hegde is seen felicitating Kamaladevi

AKSHARA GRANTHALAYA



ACC.NO. 049232

